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ABSTRACT

The fifth volume in this series contains ten articles dealing with various aspects of Romanian-English contrastive analysis. They are: "Theoretical Interpretation and Methodological Consequences of 'REGULARIZATION'," by Tatiana Slama-Cazacu; "On Error Analysis," by Charles M. Carlton; "The Contrastive Hypothesis in Second Language Acquisition," by Dumitru Chitoran; "On the Meaning of Some Interrogative Particles in Romanian and English," by Emanoil Vasiliu; "Towards a Contrastive Analysis of Conversational Strategy," by Sanda Golopentia-Eretescu; "On the Distribution of Address Forms," by R. Loring Taylor; "Overstatement, Understatement and Contrastive Analysis," by Edith Iarovici; "The Nature of the Pronoun and the Phenomenon of Pronominalization," by Maria Manoliu Manea; "Notes on a Syntactic Constraint on Movement Rules in English and Romanian: Pied-Piping or the 'Fellow-Traveling' Constraint," by Alexandra Cornilescu; and "Adverbialization and Its Relevance to the Contrastive Analysis of Romanian and English," by Taina Dutescu and Domnica Spariosu. (CLK)

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FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS IN CONTRASTIVE STUDIES

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THE ROMANIAN-ENGLISH CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS PROJECT

Director: PROF. DUMITRU CHIŢORAN, PH.D.

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THEORETICAL INTERPRETATION AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSEQUENCES OF "REGULARIZATION"[1]

by Tatiana Slama-Cazacu

0. This paper originates, on the one hand, in a body of facts that required interpretation, in the existence of a phenomenon that had to be explained; on the other hand, in the necessity of finding an answer to certain theoretical problems, raised by certain contemporary trends in the study of language. These theoretial problems, involving the process of language learning, although quite different in nature, lead, as we shall see, to a common solution, by the analysis of the same body of facts and by its causal interpretation.

The method used in this paper will be consistent with our methodological premises, that is to say it will imply the interpretation of a body of facts and the framing of problems into a broad theoretical perspective. In order to state from the very beginning the topic of this paper, I shall mention that the body of facts has to do with the phenomenon of the learners' contribution to the regularisation of certain irregular forms in the language, and that the theoretical conceptions that are discussed in connection with this phenomenon are: the theory of linguistic "universals", the nativistic theory of language related to generative transformational linguistics, and to the contrastive hypothesis.

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[1] Paper read at the meeting of the Romanian-English Contrastive Analysis Project, Bucharest 8-9 December 1972; a longer study was published afterwards: T.Slama-Cazacu 34 (also presented at the International Conference on "Recent Advances in the Psychology of Learning", Frascati, September 1972).

We witness the development of an important trend in linguistics nowadays: the search for the "universals of language". The assumption is that, underlying linguistic variety, there exist certain features common to all natural human languages. For the time being, however, as true comparative studies including all the languages of the world are still a desideratum, these "universals" are not yet clearly established, the phenomenon itself being still hypothetical. Another modern trend is represented by the nativistic theories concerning the acquisition on the mother tongue by children. According to nativistic theories, language is acquired (the word "learning" is no longer used in this context unless with critical hints) by a child on the basis of an inborn pattern, an inner structure- the "language acquisition device" - LAD - as N. Chomsky puts it (4). Several extremist trends within this general outlook - such as that represented by D.McNeill (17) - consider that even such particular aspects as the "concept of a sentence" are inborn. The nativistic outlook is, largely, a violent reaction against the "learning theories", that focussed on the mechanical learning of language, totally ignoring the individual's creative contribution. Fighting against the mechanistic trend that leaves no room for creative learning, the nativistic outlook reaches the opposite extreme, supporting the existence of an exclusively inborn pattern, which renders almost unnecessary any explanation of language acquistion by learning, while from another point of view it tends to lessen the function of social determinism. The creative contribution, which is a real fact - as we shall prove further on - in the process of language acquisition, is indentified, without any scientific or logical argumentation, with an inborn pattern.

Mention must also be made of one of the contemporary trends in applied linguistics concerned with the learning and the teaching of foreign languages: contrastive linguistics (CsL). It is well known that - especially in the form CsL has taken with its later proponents - the hypothesis considered an absolute and single factor in the process of foreign language acquisition: this process depends on the peculiarities of the basic language (BL) against which the target language (TL) is assimilated; BL can bring about phenomena of positive transfer or of interference in the process of learning. If the acquisition of any foreign-language can vary depending on both the system of TL and on that of the BL, one cannot establish general principles for the acquisition of a language (the only general principle might be the transfer/interference, psychological phenomena rather obsoletely interpreted within this trend). Although subject to various criticisms - the predictions of difficulties or facility in learning stated on the basis of a comparative analysis of the two systems not being checked up in practice yet - the CsL is still valid in its basic hypothesis, provided that it is not considered as the only explanatory and methodological principle. More recently, contrastive analysis and generally CsL has been validated on the basis of a psycholânquistic approach (as a "contact analysis", as suggested by us in 20). This theory and methodology seems to solve certain drawbacks that occurred in the development of CaL and in the approximation of a research methodology as well as of subsequent teaching methods.

The methodology suggested by the author of this paper, namely the setting up of an "acquisition corpus" (AcqC) and out of this of an "aberrant corpus" (AberC) (the errors that occurred), and then (by a statistical processing of the errors) of a hierarchical system of errors (HSE) - see (30), (31), (32), (33),(35) validates the hypothesis (see also 2.3) that the acquisition of a foreign language is only partly determined by the BL, and that several other impetant variables are also involved.These are on the one hand specific to the context in which a language is acquired, while, on the other hand, they depend on conditions that allow for a generalisation of this acquisition process, overstepping the particular bounds of each linguistic system that acts as a BL or a TL.

1.0. This is - incompletely sketched - the present context of the development of sciences and, within its framework, the general data of the problem to be solved when discussing the acquisition of a mother-tongue by a child and of a foreign-language by adults: does there exist a process of true "learning" - or is there only an inborn pattern involved which has, volens nolens, polarised the characteristic facts of the respective language? Is there a creative learning, or a mechanical learning? Are there, in the acquisition of a language (by learning, or by virtue of an inborn pattern?), common, universal features - or is each language acquired only according to its characteristic system (the first language - the mother-tongue - in the case of a child) or (in foreign-languages acquisition) according mostly to the features of the BL (first of all the mother tongue) in its contrasting meeting with a certain TL.

1.1.Investigations concerning the development of child language (in Romanian) carried out on more than 600 children,over a period of 20 years,have lead me to the conclusion that the acquisition of the mother-tongue develops as an active-we might even say creative-process, along which the child behaves as a "selective echo" (27). Various facts - some of which shall be mentioned further on-indicate that the acquisition of a mother tongue does not take place as a mere act of passive imitation, or mechanical learning. Especially from the moment when the word comes to be used with a contextual semantic value and when the grammatical structure is formed, the acquisition of language has to a great extent a rational nature, operating mainly by the formulation of certain rules by the child, fact that excludes both the explanation of this process by rigid mechanical associations and the absolute determinism of certain inborn agents.

Along the same line, investigations concerning the acquisition of foreign-languages by adults have evinced several facts that are consistent with those observed during investigations of the acquisition of the mother-tongue by Romanian children and that shows, among other things, the active process of language-learning. As all these data could not be explained by influences of a contrastive nature - that is belonging to the BL - self-evident hypothesis is that no matter what BL or TL are involved, certain phenomena inevitably occur.That might be considered as one of the general human peculiarities of foreign-language aquisition.

1.2. It might be useful, in a reasearch procedure, to state the hypothesis - which clearly points out the limits of CaL - that irrespective of the BL (mother-toungue) one starts from certain specific phenomena common to all adults learning a foreign-language inevitably occur, phenomena that could be regarded as universals of the acquisition of foreign-languages by adults. Relying on the data already known and which were mentioned above , we could expand this hypothesis as follows:these phenomera are common both to the adults that acquire any foreign language against the background of any BL,and to the children that learn their mother-tongue, no matter what the latter might be.

2.0. Several authors have suggested the similarity that exists between mother-tongue acquisition and foreign-languages acquisition by adults, but unfortunately their observations were casual and they did not supply any evidence to support this hypothesis, nor did they offer the general integration pattern set forth above; they even reached negative conclusions or exaggerated ones, and totally identifyed the two processes.

2.1. Consequentely, I have tested the above mentioned hypothesis, on the one hand by personal experimental investigations (some of them in collaboration) concerning the learning of foreign-languages, on the other hand by comparing these with data obtained during several previous personal investigations of child-speech as well as by the examination of various data from various languages, selected from papers by other authors.

2.2. The special investigations concerning the acquisition of foreign languages consisted of elaborating "acquisition corpuses" out of which the "aberrant corpuses" were selected, and which included the errors that occurred during the acquisition of two foreign languages under such circumstances as would allow new comparisons. On the one hand they have to do with the acquisition of English by adults having Romanian as a mother-tongue, elaborating the AberC and HSE in collaboration with the staff of the English department in the English-Romanian Contrastive Analysis Project (RECAP) (see papers 30 to 36). On the other hand they have to do with certain investigations carried out together with G. Doca in Sinaia, at the Summer Courses organised by the University of Bucharest. These concern the acquisition of Romanian as a foreign-language by adults speaking various other languages as mother-tongues (22 EL: Bulgarian, Czech, Danish, Dutch, English, Flemish, French, German, Russian, Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian, Spanish, Swedish, a.o.)[2].

As we shall see, errors may hint to a certain strategy (see P.Corder 5) adopted by the learner in the process of learning. Their appropriate interpretation also shows the attempts, based on judgements, to aid the act of memorizing or to go beyond the limits of mere accumulation (restrictive in point of time and energy necessary to the learners) by merely storing up facts.

3.0. Both the personal investigations and the facts mentioned by several other authors prove the unquestionable and very frequent occurrence of errors common both to adults and to children during foreign-language or mother-tongue acquisition.

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[2] The investigations carried out by T.Slama-Cazacu and G.Doca during the "Summer Courses on Romanian Language and Literature" in Sinaia (see 35).

3.1. Errors produced in the acuisition of foreign-languages by adults.

3.1.1. There exist frequent errors that occur during the acquisition of the English language by Romanians or during the acquisition of the Romanian language by speakers of different languages, which come from the accumulation of a personal stock of facts existing in the TL (that is learned) and from the learner's noticing a common principle that is characteristic of several facts and that allows for the framing of these facts within a category, in short the formulation of a "rule". These errors usually have to do with the conjugation of verbs, with the plural formation of some nouns, with the use of prepositions, word order, formation of adverbs etc.

Some of these errors have been collected within the investigations concerning the Romanian language learned as a foreign-language by adults having various mother-tongues (such as: înconjurează instead of /further on represented by =/ înconjură, based on the model of înconjură, from verbs as a corecta - corectează; a lucra - lucrează; or să mănîncăm = să mîncăm, from the present first person, mănînc, preferesc = prefer, from a sosi - sosesc , etc. We shall now present (see Appendix) more examples here (we have already dealt with various examples in detail, in some other papers - see 34, etc.), since they are a given fact whose existence can no longer be doubted.

Some other errors have been collected from the Romanian students of English: such as betterly, womens, decided to left, ect.

3.1.2. The same type of errors - made by using some patterns from the stock in TL - have been recorded by various authors for various BL and TL: such as *goed* (TL English - BL Czech, or TL English - BL German - , see L. Dušková 7, G.Nickel 11; or *les élèves finissont* (TL French - see C.Bouton 1, a.s.o.).

3.2. *Errors produced in the acquisition of the mother-tongue by children.*

Errors generated in the same way - i.e. the use of some patterns from the already learned stock, in order to produce new forms, and which can be included within similar categories (conjugation, plural, formation of nouns, etc.) - can be also found with *children*, particularly between 3 and 6 years of age, during the acquisition of the mother tongue (examples from Romanian see 22, English see 1, 2, 4, French see 8, German see 34, Italian see 2, Russian see 13, etc.):

Romanian *se bucureazĂ = se bucurĂ*, *vopseazĂ = vopseste* (for both see the above mentioned example *înĂlteazĂ*); or: *zĂpada acopereste (= acoperĂ) florile* (see above *preferesc*); English *hisself = himself*, from *myself*, *yourself*; French *apprendu = appris*, *tienner = tenir*; German *gewest = gewesen*; Italian *diciato = detto*, etc.

3.3. Two significant phenomena should be emphasized. On the one hand such forms do not appear from the very beginning of speech development with children. Moreover, in the beginning of the process of acquiring a foreign-language by adults (only after a certain stock has been accumulated the use of "models is possibe") nor do these forms appear from the beginning of speech development with children. Moreover, in the beginning the correct forms often occur such as - in English - *it came* (then *comed*), it *broke* (then *breaken*), etc. (cf. D.Slobin 37, p.9; 38, P.219).

On the other hand, it can be noticed that the incorrect forms, reached by the use of certain models, alternate very often in the case of the same subject (child or adult) with correct forms but irregular ones (*man-mans*; *man-men* - but later only *man-mans* - cf. W.Miller and S.Ervin-Tripp 18, p.33; or *foots* and *feets*, then *footses*, *footis*, with the same child - cf.D.Slobin 37, p.9 - 10; or, with children learning Romanian as a mother tongue: f.i, at 4 years and 10 months, *erau băltoace mici*, but also *sunteau băltoace mici* - cf. T.Slama-Cazacu 27), The body of facts is obvious and certain, and the tables in the Appendix mirror some of these facts; for the time being we will not discuss them futher.

4.0. What is the significance of these facts? All the examples given so far indicate that such errors that occur in the process of the acquisition of a mother-tongue or of foreign-languages are neither arbitrary, nor inexplicable or irrational. On the contrary, although the grammatical, lexical or semantic systems of the respective language do not include these facts, that is, although the standard of that language does not admit of them yet, these errors, very similar in various languages, are "motivated", and they "might exist" in that language. Far from being "aberrations", once their logical motivation has been discovered, the fact that they do not actually exist in the language seems rather strange and sometimes regretable.

4.1. The errors we are talking about originate in one or several linguistic facts that have been previously acquired by the learner and that are included within a category functioning as a "model".

How and when does such behaviour - that accounts for the setting of a "model" actually occur and how does it involve the subsequent constructions of phrases according to that model? It is only when a certain stock of linguistic facts has been accumulated, that both the adult and - what seems more impressive - the child start "to set in order" this first corpus: similar facts accumulated are classified according to a common criterion. Recent psychological research has proved that this active, selective and systematic grouping, this inner organisation of the stuff to be memorized is, in fact, a general technique of human memory (see 8; 14). This technique, which has been more and more studied in the last few years, which proves very useful in the explanation of "verbal learning" seems to be also an efficient interpretation for understanding language- learning and some psycholinguistic phenomena in general. Much more important is the fact that these errors prove that the subjects usually discover (sometimes spontaneously, especially the children) the right principle of systematization of the respective language. The adequacy of the sytematisation operated by the learners is proved not only by the fact that (by means of this systematizing technique) one correctly remembers and reproduces linguistic forms that have been heard in various communication circumstances (under which the learning of a language takes place), but also by the fact that - on the basis of this principle of using "models" and "categorizing" - new forms are being "created" that have not been heard before, but which belong to the system of that language.

Actually, operating with these models representative of a category, which is in fact an act of classifying into categories on the basis of a common principle, can be also considered an activity of rule extraction (including the common criteria as well as the principle of productive application) whereby new components of the various subsystems can be produced (such as verbs of the 1st conjugation in Romanian). The subsystems gradually enrich themselves, by adding new components to the corpus, but also by the possibility of adding new shades to the initial concise rules (or to improve, modify or even replace it by another one if a wrong rule had been set up). Consequently, the language is, to a great extent acquired in such a way and the "individual linguistic system" is constructed by each learner (see 24).

The extraction of a rule on the basis of an accumulated linguistic stock as well as its productive application represents an efficient strategy. This should lead to a rapid acquisition in the case of a simple artificially built language, without any "aberrant" case or any "exceptions from the rule".

But natural languages - although making up rather well balanced systems - are not so very "regular" in all their compartments and details, as one might logically foresee if consistently applying the rules that allow their efficient organisation and functioning. As a result of the action of certain factors that have brought about mutations in the course of the historical evolution of each language, natural languages show many exceptions from the rule (in English we say *myself* and *yourself* - from *my* + *self* and *your + self* -, and not *hisself* but *himself*). But the human mind looks for order, it classifies according to the rule which it explicitly sets up (and that sometimes even does not surpass in the child the level of the implicit): and so the child -

or the adult learning the English language as a foreign language - "creates" the forms hisself, or goed (as for Romanian sinteam), that do not exist in the language, but that are logical and correspond to a completely rational criterion, mirroring a systematisation on the basis of a rule. The result is called an error by the "outsider" who is an adult (or any other advanced child or "learner", or the theacher).

The "errors" mentioned are but symptoms of a "natural crisis" of growing, the outcome of a natural evolution in the process of language-acquisition that leads to mastery of it by the subject. In the process of this evolution, the subject proves that he can also handle facts existing in the language (called "correct" ones), but, without considering them a mistake in the strategy of learning, normal "incorrectnesses" (we could say - paradoxically - correct ones) may also occur.

The errors are not anomalies or absurd fallacies (we might say that "anomaly" exists in the language), but are the logical outcome of the perfect work of a human learning technique or strategy.

4.2. This phenomenon, that operates through rules formulated by the subject, finally leads to a "regularization" of the language (i.e. to formation of "regular" forms, where the given language presents "irregularities" as in the case of the English conjugation of "irregular" verbs). The term "regularization" - sometimes used for describing this effect - does not always mean the mere replacement of an "irregularity" with a "regular" form, but is actually the working out of rules, the creation of some forms by observing these rules, the use of a linguistic stock that has become a system just because certain rules are known and observed.

For this reason, unlike some authors (quite recent papers in English) who use the English term "regularization" or even "over-regularization" (D.Slobin 37, p.8) in the sense of language changing into a regular system (although the application of rules is also mentioned), the main sense which we give it here is that of "self-formulation of rules".

4.3. What is the deeper "mechanism" of this phenomenon (which many people consider as a strategy of the human process of acquisition)?

Very often, the term "overgeneralisation" is mentioned in this context (a generalisation which goes beyond the bounds within which the term ought to be maintained) or, with certain shades specific to the behaviourist techniques of learning, a mechanism of "generalisation" simply mentioned (see I.Maltzman, 16).

Certainly, in the substratum - deeply modified, however, by the refinement of human behaviour-there can be found traces of the general mechanism characteristic of all the dynamics of adaptation that lies at the basis not only of human behaviour, but also of the other beings (e.g. the animal kingdom and even in the range of lifeless matter): extensions take place, that could be considered, by analogy or metaphorically, similar to this phenomenon. The extension of a reaction (efferent generalization), or of the significance of a stimulus (afferent generalization), can be found at the elementary motor level. For example, during the formation of the oculo-palpebral reflex in infants of a few months, if a slight air current is passed over his eyes, he blinks; he will also blink upon hearing the sound of a bell that accompanies the air-current, then, progressively, general movements of all the body will be added to the sound of the bell (a symptom of efferent generalisation). This is a common mechanism, a necessary phase, the basis of every "act of learning" or of any adaptation act in general.

But this general mechanism bears a real resemblance to the phenomenon of "regularisation" only to the extent to which both the linking of the sound of the bell and the reply of a partner in the course of a dialogue represent a "reaction" to a "stimulus".

The "regularisation" we discussed before is not a mechanical generalisation (as interpreted by behaviourism), and nor is it predestined, included into the biological background of the individual, and manifesting itself when the biological conditions reach maturity (an interpretation derived from the nativist conception). Regularisation is a generalisation based on judgements, it is a rational, creative strategy, but it belongs to a general process of learning and not to a blind selfmaturation.

The phenomenon mentioned above is not caused by a greater frequency in language or by the more frequent occurrence in communication of the regular forms, but by their very "regular" character, which permits the logical operation of extracting the common features, and of generalisation which is a logic operation too.

The manner in which a child acquires for instance the conjugations of the regular and of the irregular verbs in English clearly shows the following evolution: a) an initial use of the correct forms (irregular forms like went) acquired rather mechanically, then the "incorrect" forms regularized liked *goed* (usually with vacillation between the regular and the irregular form), then their final fixation during the compulsory learning of irregular forms by means of a compulsory *tale quale* learning.

Probably the first stage in language acquisition is mechanical enough (a *tale quale* memorization of some unanalysed forms which are linked, if ever- in the case of the adult in the process of acquiring a foreign-language - to similar forms or meanings in his mother-tongue or in another known language).
b) Then, once a certain stock has been accumulated, the principle of the organization of the material for its fixation and reproduction interferes. Since *went* is the only instance of such a form - while other verbs have the ending *-ed* for the past which permits the introduction into a category, hence a systematisation - , a rule can be set up; as *went* is prejudiced, it gets a marginal place in the stock and the general strategy pushes it towards the zone of "neglecting", as if it were no longer perceived in the speech heard around or were considered an aberration due to the vagaries of communication; the form *goed* gets a natural place in the system - which is in accordance with the rule, although it does not exist in that language. c) *Goed* gets a status of "acquired" form and is uttered whenever it is necessary, on the basis of the principle which helps the reproduction, while *went* - mechanically memorized in the beginning - comes also back sometimes, but not with as many chances of reproduction and occurence.
d) Finally, after a time when the stock has been sufficiently enlarged - so that different irregular forms may have been stocked, which may somehow undermine the principle of the first rule, the

form *went* is fixed solidly enough (one could say that the setting up of a rule interferes now too: "There exist irregular verbs too and these have to be learned *tale-quale*, they are the only ones accepted by the adults".

The process of language acquisition is therefore complex, its evolution comprises stages in which various mechanisms interfere, and it is difficult to speak about a process of "learning" that would be uniform at all stages. It is even possible that also "regularisation" (a stage which, as a matter of fact, coexists with different other stages) should not comprise a homogeneous mechanism, but may discriminately filter certain forms, which are regularized, while other ones are learned as irregular forms.

Therefore, the phenomenon of "regularisation", by the intervention of certain rational operations both in the child and in the adult, make us think that, in this respect, there exists a similarity between mother-tongue acquisition by the child and second language acquisition by the adult (of course, one must take into account the particularities of age implied or the absence of any linguistic primary stock in the child's case).

4.4. A last point in connection with the problems mentioned at the beginning of this paper is still to be discussed: is "regularization" a real argument in support of the nativist thesis (which maintains that language has an innate character)? It must be emphasized from the beginning that this phenomenon is an equally good argument both for the learning theories (see, for instance, D.Palermo 23, A.Staats 39), and for the nativist theses (first of all D.McNeil 17), and that an explanation by both conceptions is tempting. There are forms - the "nonsystematic" ones, "arbitrary"

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from the point of view of the rules-which must ne learnt with an effort of memory hardly supported by rules.

But the "creative", conscious contribution, the modification of the behaviour through rational intentions, adopted ad hoc, should not be omitted either.

On the other hand, the extraction of linguistic rules and their application is not absolutely necessarily attributed to an inborn background, specific to linguistic behaviour. Rational language acquisition does not necessarily entail a conception which considers language as such (or aspects of its details) to be inborn. Moreover, this feature, generally creative, combines with moments of mechanical learning. If there is something "inborn", these are general cognitive capacities of the human mind, as the capacity and need - of the human being who lives in society, to direct his behaviour on the basis of certain "regularities" (of a superior level as compared to the "given", rather involuntary ones, of a physiological nature).

As a matter of fact, it would amount to supporting the thesis of nativism through the argument that a human being is born a "man" and not an "octopus".

Anyway, as in any discussion of the "inneist" thesis, the chaining of arguments becomes otiose, uselessly complicated and endless.

5. Conclusions

5.1. The facts, the material gathered - and illustrated here only by a few examples - enable us to assert that the first hypothesis has been checked. A common phenomenon (and there are others, whose universality will be subjected to verification in other studies) is observable both with children in the process of mother-tongue acquisition, and with adults while acquiring a foreign-language, irrespective of what languages these are. The occurrence of "errors" is a symptom of normal development of the child's language (between about 3 and 6 years of age) and is the effect of a natural "strategy" on the part of the child or the adult when acquiring a language. This phenomenon constitutes a universal of language acquisition, a conclusion that does not imply a nativist position, as the "universal" does not consist of common concrete facts or contents, but of the general type of behaviour, of strategy while acquiring a language.

5.2. In this process of language acquisition one can notice the phenomenon of a "productive creative acquisition", a rational phenomenon - the "regularisation", which consists of finding similarities between various forms, in their categorisation, and the self-formulation of a rule (the application of which also leads to the "regularisation" of language, that is to the replacement of an irregularity in one of the compartments of language by a "regular" form, in accordance with the system or subsystem). Regularisation is characteristic of one of the phases of language acquisition and it is preceded and followed (or even "doubled") by other phenomena, like mechanical learning or memorisation of irregular forms.

5.3. The investigation of this phenomenon and its accurate interpretation permits the adoption of a more flexible attitude concerning both language acquisition (which should not be regarded as a mechanical learning or as a formation of automatisms by imitation only, but as a creative acquisition) and the dilemma:

"inborn capacities" or "learning", which to a great extent turns out to be a false dilemma - created by the exaggerations of the two extremist conceptions: "nativism" and behaviourist "learning theories" - and leading to endless otiose discussions.

6. As a result of the accumulation of various facts and of their new interpretations, it is high time to pass, in CaL, to the expected practical application, to reconsiderations of the teaching methods.

The facts and their interpretation, as well as the conclusions to which these facts lead can bring about *practical results* too, first of all regarding the problem of the general methodology of language teaching, because predictions can be made of what types of errors the learners are prone to make in the various stages of language-acquisition. Moreover, the existence of the normal phenomenon of "regularization" - that implies rational natural processes from the part of the individual who acquires a language-pleads for at least a practical replacement of the methods (frequently applied and looked upon as "modern" ones, but that have long since lost their psychological justification) of teaching by pattern drills, by mechanical repetition of expressions - which creates "automatisms" ("learning" being ultimately based on the old behaviourist diagram S:R) by a rational method consisting of the explanation of some forms and the facilitation of formulation of rules. The natural strategy of selfformulation of rules (and even the tendency of making "errors" of the type discussed above) ought to be used in teaching just for getting rid of the "errors" and for facilitating learning (the learner would formulate rules any way, even if they are not taught, and not always is he able to choose spontaneously the most economical and efficient means of acquiring a form).

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APPENDIX

Table 1 (Adults)

Example nr.	Aberrant forms	Correct forms	Explanation (to "model")
1	2	3	4
I. Romanian as TL - various BLx)	a) vedind	văsind "seing"	a vedea "to see" (el) vede "(he) sees"
	b) se înălțează	se înalță "goes up"	a (se) înălța "to go up"
	înconjurează	înconjoară "surround" (înconjură)	corectează "to correct", lucrează "to work",etc.
	preferesc	prefer "(I) prefer"	sosesc "(I) arrive
	c) să îndeplinez	eu să îndeplinesc "fulfile" /Ist pers.sg. conjuctive/	aranjez "(I) arrange", deranjez "(I) distrub",etc.
	să nu terminez	eu să termin "finish" /idem/	/idem/
	d) să mânîncăm	să mîncăm "eat" /Ist pers.pl. conjunctive/	(să) mănînc "(let me) eat"
II. English as TL - Romanian as BL	a) betterly	better	adv.= adj. + (-ly)
	b) womens	women	subst.pl. sg.+ s (hand +(-s)
	c) was sitted	was sitting or was sat	present reg.verb. + (-ed)
	she leaved	left	I leave + (-ed)
	d) he don't	he doesn't	I do
	e) you didn't enjoyed	... enjoy	afirmative form of regular verbs

1	2	3	4
	f) decided to left	... to leave	double past tense overlicit.
	g) he didn't not even speak	... dind't speak	double negation, — overlicit.
	h) why don't he pay no attention?	why doesn't he pay any attention?	errors combined d) and g)
	i) Charming Prince	Prince Charming	(a) nice boy, the pretty girl ...
	j) a good playwrighter	... play wright	playwright + playwriter
III			
A. English as TL - Czech as BL	a) goed	went	see (Ex.II c)
	spended	spent	"
	b) we was	we were	(I) was
	I have wrote	... written	past tense ne-regulat (see Ex. II f)
	I did not made	... make	Part.irreg. (go, went, gone)
	I gone	I went	"
	/L.Dušková/		
B. French as TL	a) les élèves finissont	finissent	ont, sont, font, vont
	/C.Bouton/		
	b) il n'a pas de raison	il n'a pas raison	je n'ai pas de livres
(Dutch as BL)	je n'ai pas de soif	je n'ai pas soif	"
	/A.Sciarone/		

Table 2 (Children)

Example nr.	Aberrant forms	Correct forms	Explanation (the "model")
1	2	3	4
IV. Romanian children (3-7 old)	a) (zăpada) acopereste florile (4;2)	/the snow/ acoperă "covers" the flowers	verbs Ist and IVth conj., IIIrd pers. sg. and.pl. in (-ez), (-ează) and (-este), (-esc)
	se bucurează (4;2)	se bucură "enjoys"	
	ciinele turbeste (5;2)	/the dog/ turbează "enrages"	" and contaminations between paradigms
	glumează (5;2)	glumeşte "jokes"	"
	(el) viseste (4;3)	visează "(he) dreams"	" precise model: vopseşte "paints"
	vopsează (4;9)	vopseşte "paints"	precise model: pictează "paints"
	b) copiii visez (3;5)	/children/ visează "dreams"	Ist pers.: eu visez " I dream"
	se joc băietii (3;8, 5;5)	/the boys/ se joacă "play"	Ist pers.: eu mă joc "I play"
	c) eu suntem tu suntei, el sunte... (4;10, 5;0 etc.)	eram, erai, "(I) was", era (you) were, (he) was"	Ist pers.sg.indic. present: eu sint (or sint) "am"
	d) să mai are ... (3;0,6;9 etc.)	să mai aibă "to have some more (IIIrd pers.sg.conj.)	IIIrd pers.sg. indic. pres.: el are "he has"

1	2	3	4
	e) vedese punese vinese spunese (4;10)	văzuse "had seen" pusese "had put" venise "had come" spusese "had said"	el vede "he sees" el pune "he puts" el vine "he comes" el spune "he says"
	f) avem lopate şi galete şi trotinete (4;10)	/we have/ lopeţi "shovels" găleţi "buckers"	sg. lopată + (-e) (reguler ending of pl. -e), for nouns in (-ă), /sg.găleată/, cf also trotinete "skooters"
	tatele (5;0)	taţii "the fathers"	(idem) sg. tată "father" + mame "mothers"
	mase (3;0)	mese "tables"	(idem) sg. masă "table"
	sore (6;8)	surori "sisters"	(idem) sg. soră "sister"
	brade (6;5)	brazi "Christmas trees"	sg.brad + term. pl. (-e)
	brazu(l) (3;6)	bradul "the Christmas tree"	pl. brazi (sg. remade braz insted of brad)
	g) şoferu(l)! (3;6)	şoferule! "hey driver!" or şofer! "driver!"	nominative: şoferul
	copilu(l)	copile! "hey, kid!", copilule! "hey (the) child"	idem: copilul "the child"

1	2	3	4
V. (Lexical creations)	a) o animală (3;9, 5;6)	un animal "an animal"	pl.animale "animals" (sg. remade regular) feminine: soră "sister" + rule for masc.subst.
	un sor (4;3)	un frate "a brother"	
	b) luptari (4;10)	luptători "wrestlers"	luptă "fight", a lupta "to fight" + suffix. (-ar) models poartă-portar " porter")
	c) ciineluș (3;4)	cățel, cățeluș "doggy"	ciine "dog" + suffix dimin. (-uș) (ex.: inel/ineluș " ring/little ring"
	d) milcometru (4;11)	cronometru	cronometru "Chronometre" + kilometru "Kilometre" + milimetru "millimeter" /cf. child's explanation/
VI. English children /Berko, Brown, Fraser, Ervin-Tripp, McNeill, Klima-Bellugi, Slobin/xx)	a) goed (strong verbs)	went	1st pers.sg.indic. pres. go + term. regular verbs (-ed)
	doed	did	" do + (-ed)
	comed	come	" come + (-ed)
	/glinged/	/glang/	" /gling/ + (-ed)
	b) why he don't known	why he doesn't known	/see Ex.II d/

1	2	3	4
	c) nobody don't like me	nobody likes me	double negation /see Ex.II g-h/
	d) foots (pl.irregular subst.	feet	sg.foot + term. pl.reg.subst. (-s)
	feets	"	pl.feet + (-s)
	footses	"	sg.foot + model glass/glasses
	mans, mans	men	sg. man + (-s)
	sheeps	sheep	sg.sheep + (-s)
	gooses	geese	sg. goose + (-s)
	e) hisself	himself	his + models my/myself, your/yourself,
VII (Russian children) /Gvozdev, Popova, Slobin/xx)	a) sg.all nouns instrumental case with suffix (-om)		sg.masculin and neutre nouns, instrumental case
	b) past verbs with masc. nouns ending in (-a)		past verbs with feminine nouns
VIII. (French children) /Cohen, Cremaussel, Dauzat, Guillaume, Vendryes/xx)	a) prendu	pris	model: défendu, rendu, répandu
	apprendu	appris	"
	b) tienner	tenir	model: verbe Ist conjug.
	se batter	battre	"
	éteigner	éteindre	"
	rier	rire	"
	c) couserai	coudre	model: prendre, prenais

1	2	3	4
	peinturer tiendre tiendais	peindre tenir tenais	" " "
IX. (Italian children) /Fronzaroli, Frontali/[xx]	leggiato	letto	model: leggere leggi + term.part. reg.verbs
	diciato	detto	model: dici + term. part.reg.verbs
	pungiono	pungono	model: punge + term.reg.verbs
X. (German children) /Wandruszka/[xx]	geschlaft gewascht gewest	geschläfen gewaschen gewesen	model: gemacht gesagt, etc.
XI. (Oscillations)	a) (anglais) man 2;8 mans man 2;11 men man 3;1 mans /Ervin-Tripp/ b) (Romanian) erau sun- 4;10 tem		

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[x] TL - target language, a foreign-language in train of being acquired
BL - base language, mother-tongue(or the known foreign-language)
diff. - different
end. ending
overlicit. - overlicitation

[xx] For complete reference, concerning these examples, see T.Slama-Cazacu 34.

ON ERROR ANALYSIS
(with reference to errors in English committed
by native-speakers of Romanian)

by Charles M. Carlton

Contrastive analysis has been defined thus: "Contrastive linguistics is the sub-discipline of linguistics concerned with defining similarities and differences between languages, with the principal objective of facilitating the learning of one of these languages - the 'target' language - for speakers of the other - the 'source' language".[1]

Presumably, difficulties for native-speakers of Romanian learning English should arise at those points where the two linguistic systems are most divergent. In a complete investigation of the similarities and especially, the differences of Romanian and English, what would appear to be in order would be nothing less than a thorough-going, detailed analysis of the two language systems at every hierarchical level: phonology, morphology, syntax, the lexicon.

To some working linguists, however, the contrastive analysis model has seemed inadequate for dealing with real language-learning problems: it has been observed, for example, that "interference", which presumably should arise only conflicts between source and target languages, may be discerned in a variety of forms, and the problems of conflict assumes a different shape at each stage of the second-language learning process. Interference occurs not only between two languages, but also between successive levels of acquisition of a new language[2]. Modifications of the original and simplistic notion of interference have been proposed in the literature, e.g. the "approximative systems" of W.Nemser[3].

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[1] William Nemser, "Contrastive Linguistics", paper read before the National Academy of Science, n.d.

In January, 1972, Dean D.Chiţoran, of the University of Bucharest, noted during a visit to project participants at Cluj that topics to be assigned futher study in the "Romanian-English Language Project" might be most efficiently selected from an error analysis study already under way in Bucharest.[4]

Though the final results of the Bucharest study have not been made fully available, I suggest that a comparison between it and an analysis of errors I have made may have a real and practical value. It goes without saying that examples I shall present are a very small sampling of errors noted,[5] which in turn can only dimly mirror the problem as a whole. While error analysis emphasizes the pragmatic, we shall not go so far as to suggest remedies and exercises for specific deviations, but rather shall restrict ourself to an exposure of the problem. At the same time, we shall attempt to show that such analysis, though primarily one of observation and classification, must ultimatelly be subjected to theoretical considerations, as answers as to what constitutes "error" on the one hand, "mastery" on the other, are sought. At bottom, finally, is an understanding of the interplay between communication and language learning, and the permissible deviations within the latter which do not hamper the former. In the long run, this taxonomy of deviants from the norm should also be subjected to considerations held to be essential in contemporary linguistic theory, e.g. the whole language-acquisition process (with a possible parallelism in the language-learning processes of both infant and the adult learning a second language), the notion of "grammaticality ", "surface" vs. "deep" structures (with concomitant analyses of deviant structures which are none the less comprehensible to the native speaker), transformations (especially those performed on an interlingual basis), etc.

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[2] Cp.C.E.Osgood, "Universals and Psycholinguistics", in J.H. Greenberg, ed., *Universals of Language*, 2nd ed., Cambridge/ London, 1966, p.306.

[3] "Approximative Systems of Foreign Language Learners", to appear in *IRAL*.

[4] The two different procedures associates with contrastive studies, i.e. contrastive analysis and error analysis, are described in W.Nemser, "Recent Trends in Contrastive Linguistics", paper read fore the Second Canadian Symposium on Applied Linguistics, Ottawa, May 31, 1970, p.4. For a progress report on the work being performed in Bucharest, cf.T.Slama-Casacu and D.Chiţoran, "Report of the Group of 'Psycholinguistics Research", "Stage of: Establishing the Hierarchical System of Errors", in *The Romanian-English Contrastive Analysis Project*, *Reports and Studies*, Bucharest, 1971, pp.31-48.

The following listing of errors is based on observations:

a) made over a period of approximately 8 and one-half months, or basically one scholastic year,

b) principally in Cluj, occasionally elsewhere on visit to other faculties (Iaşi, Sibiu),

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[5] For similar samplings, cf. W.Nemser, "Recent Trends ...", pp. 9-15, and T.Slama-Cazacu and D.Chiţoran, "Report ..." and "Stage of ...", pp.43, 45.

c) of students majoring in English at the University of Cluj (Babeş-Bolyai), four sections of second year, and occasionally elsewhere, e.g. first and second year at Iaşi, first year in Sibiu,

d) of adults, principally employed at the University in Cluj as chemists, mathematicians, and physicists, and participating voluntarily in the Intensive English program sponsored by the University, the U.S. Department of State, and the Center for Applied Linguistics, and which commenced in January, 1972,[6]

e) of teachers and professors, at the secondary level, and occasionally in the various faculties.

The situations in which the errors were noted were both

f) formal - in particular, in classroom and testing situations, and informal - in outside of class contacts, conversation, etc.

The media included,

g) in addition to conversation, written work- some on assigned topics, dictations, hour tests, and a final examination (itself partly a dictation, plus a section of grammatical exegesis given by another teacher). The final examination (given in the Fall term) was largely oral, and included analysis and discussion of a text.

Students and others were observed,

h) either as they perceived (in particular on diction, but in conversation as well), or produced English, in both its oral and written forms.

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[6] In point of fact, participants themselves selected their level, which, unfortunately, at least in the case of the advanced group, inaccurately reflected aptitude and background.

In addition to the fact that all those observed are adults, learning English as a second (or, in some case, a third) language, all speak Romanian natively, though a significant minority express a preference for either German (in particular, one "Englese-Germana" section)[7] or Hungarian - a not unsurprising fact, given the long history of bilingualism in Transylvania.[8]

While there is little doubt errors admit to a multiplicity of possible classification, we have chosen to follow a scheme which broadly includes mistakes to be classed principally as those following under, respectively, the rubrics of Sound, Form, Syntax, and Meaning, though multiple and overlapping classifications surely exist.[9]

Because of limitations of space and time, we shall restrict the examples to roughly five under each major rubric. We omit from consideration spelling errors, derived principally from dictations which, while apparently simple, are amenable to a great variety of interpretations, not the least of which is defective oral production.

PHONOLOGY

1. /n/ vs. /ng/ *exciting, young*. An extremely common error, at all levels, students and in some teachers as well, it has lit-

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[7] Eight out of a total of fourteen students, from Brașov, Mediaș, and Sibiu. A similar situation prevails among students visited in Sibiu.

[8] Cf.R.A.Hall, Jr., *Introductory Linguistics*, Philadelphia, 1964, p.463, M.Pei, *Invitation to Linguistics*, London, 1965, p.211. Figures for language knowledge possessed by second year Cluj students, nearly 60 in all, are: French (43), German (28), Hungarian (23), Italian (7), Spanish (one). It is clear we are dealing in nearly every instance with students who possess knowledge of more than one language to begin with.

[9] A possibly more immediately accessible classification system is one based purely on from-class membership, while another technique might be based on errors of addition, loss, transformation.

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tle significance in a phonemic sense, yet still offends the native ear and forever marks the speakers as "foreign".

2. /r/ is a pervasive problem, at all levels, except for possibly the most Anglophile. For most speakers, however, the Romanian tongue-tip trill is substituted, though some successfully cope with the retroflexed American R.[10] One student from Sibiu has a velar variety, not only in English, but in German and Romanian as well, which she considers a speech defect.[11]

3. Stress, and placement of stress, problems were noted among intermediate-level Intensive English students, who were no doubt influenced by the printed page, as well as by Romanian "false friends", in diff'icult, pa'rents, 'sincere, tole'rated. Errors of a more serious nature were detected in the advanced group in some 'body, for 'somebody.

4. In the vowels, lack of distinction, or mixing of /i/ and /I/, prevails at all levels, as fit: feet, is: ease, live: leave, pick: peak, peek, pique, winning: weaning (^{x}a weaning smile), this: these - this a particularly serious error since it is perilously close to confusion in number.

5. Difficulty in perceiving my American vowels was noted on dictations taken by the second year students: called vs. cold, pause vs. pose, etc. (Cp. other such major American: British differences, as in clerk: dew, new: figure, etc.)

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[10] One characteristic of the English spoken at the University of Cluj is its British vocalism, American consonantism - at least respect to /r/.

[11] This substitution is well attested in the literature on other languages having tongue-tip trills.

MORPHOLOGY

6. Infinitive vs. - *ing*: next to distinctions in continuous and simple verb tense forms, this is the most common type of formal error, and is found at all levels, as: *Did you succeed to get* ..., *I'm looking forward to see you*, *They have no interest to reveal all their tricks*, *He seemed excited to hear something*, ... *before to arrive*. While many of the constructions are merely "foreign",others assume a critical importance, as: *He want to read something*, for *He went on reading* ... (Cp. *He stopped to do* and *He stopped doing*).

7. Errors in number are less common, but occur occasionally among nouns and verbs, as (plural for singular) *Thanks God*, (singular noun for plural) *He had to change the train*, (singular verb for plural) *There is some lakes*.

8. Conflict between progressive and simple verb forms is highly common, as (present progressive for simple present) *What are you doing if you see two trains coming*? (past progressive for simple past) *A lion which all the day was walking*, (simple present for present progressive) *When you have such a good time* ...,(simple past for past progressive) *An American family who visited England*, (simple present for past progressive) *who ride*, for *were riding*. Paticularly among the "advanced" Intensive English students were countless noted of morphological errors in the verbs (cf.10 below).

9. Other errors in the verb occur in the sequence of tenses, as (present perfect for pluperfect) *Leonardo da Vinci has been working for two years at his portrait and he was still far from finishing it*, (present for past) *He would advise them not to because the castle is haunted.* (present for past, in modal) *He answered that he can* - here the influence from the Romanian construction seems obvious.

10. Uncertainty as to verb form, especially in the strong verbs, is common, especially in Intensive English students, most of whom had apparently had little drill and practice on such fundamentals, as (present for past) *I go*, for *I went*, *I visit*, for *I visited*, *last* for *lasted*, *must* for *had to*, *tell* for *told*, (present for past participle) *I have visit* for *I have visited.* It is interesting to note that many of these forms involve a final dental stop, /-d/ or /-t/, which may delude the speaker into thinking he has in some way already achived a past form. Other errors are: (strong preterite viewed as weak) *I leaved* for *I left*, (preterite of the wrong verb) *I rode a newspaper* for *I read* ... (Again, the student is at least aware of the final dental stop as a marker of the past). Further, cp. *he was dead* for *he died* (or *was killed*). Further, cp. *he was dead* (or *was killed*). A similar tendency was observable among intermediate Intensive English students who, when reading aloud, rendered only one dental stop, in *appreciated*, *completed*, *reminded*.

SYNTAX

11. Beyond any doubt, the most common error, at all levels and independent of language backgrounf (German, Hungarian or Romanian), is misplacement of an adverb or an adverbial phrase, as (adverb of degree) *You like very much this sentence*, (place) *There was born Goga*, *Flowers are on the earth just symbols of something* (manner) *He ran quickly out*, *... to explore more deeply the universe*, (time- errors are extremely numerous) *They're doing all the time the same thing*, *I was yesterday in Turda*, *I go tomorrow home*, *... a lion which all the day walked up and down in his cage*, *He wanted already to shut again his eyes*, *He become soon famous*.

... watching again and again the sunset, *He couldn't immediately find a suitable place*.

12. Other errors are those on addition (definite article) *all the way get to Rome*, for *all roads lead ...*, *He studied the painting* (a serious error since *the* differentiates between the Romanian equivalents, *pictură* and *tablou*), *He was invited to have the coffee*, (preposition) *We left from Cluj* (cp. *We departed from*) ... *who ride by bicycle*, and omission (definite article) *... deserts like Sahara* (place-names appear to pose special difficulties), *My tears cannot raise her from dead*, (indefinite article) *It is very nice city*, (personal pronoun) *Remove your fingers or I beat*, *I like*, *I want*, (preposition) *He graduated our faculty*, *She was operated*, *I want to speak you*, *He explained him*, *What had become St.Exupéry's Little Prince*? *One day he took a new appretince.* These may also be compared with certain phrasal verbs whose meanings the intermediate Intensive English section experienced difficulty with, as *figure out* vs. *figure*, *find out* vs. *find*, etc.

13. Other errors are interpretable as contaminations or conflations,though it is debatable whether the student himself is conscious of the two underlying structures,*as in city Rome* = *in Rome* + *in the city of Rome*, *native town* vs. *home town* vs. *native village*.

14. Word order problems range from (in affition to problems already touches on) the following: (transposition of two-word syntagmemes) *Balaton Lake* for *Lake B.* (cp. *Lake Michigan* and *The Great Salt Lake*), (three-word groups) *The University of New York* for *New York University* (cp. *the University of Illinois* and *Indiana University*; it is doubtful that the speaker was aware of the presence of a State University of New York), (personal pronoun with preposition, and infinitive, transposed) *It is better*

to die for her for ... *for her to die* (a significant example since both structures are grammatical, but have a very different content), (subject and predicate, reversed) *Do you know what's this*? *I don't know when was President Coolidge in office*. *Where was born Michaelangelo*?

15. Certain verbal idioms are misinterpreted, e.g. *I don't used to having* for *I'm not used to having*. *Use* appears to be interpreted as an independent verb form, possibly on the order of this equation:

	Affirmative	Negative	Negative	Negative of *use*
Past	*I came*.	*I didn't come*	*I didn't come*.	*I didn't use to come*
Present	*I come*.	*I don't come*	*I don't come*.	**I don't use to come*

VOCABULARY

16. "False friends", a term usually used to describe certain cognates, or look-alike forms, in French and English, are no less common in Romanian, as *criminal* vs. *murderer*, *announce* vs. *call up*, *inform*, *tell*, *colleague* vs. *classmate*, *city* vs. *old town*, *evidently* vs. *obviously*, *bath* vs. *swim*, *lecture* vs. *reading*, *football* vs. *soccer*, *match* vs. *game* (really a matter of idiom: *tennis match*, *football game*), *remark* vs. *observe*, etc. Place-names present additional problems of adaptability, as *Cracovia* for *Cracow*, '*Geneva* for *Geneve*, *Hungaria* for *Hungary*, *Bulgary* for *Bulgaria*, *Praga* vs. *Prague*, *Roma* vs. *Rome*, etc.

17. Formal resemblances no doubt account for confusion between *beside*: *besides*, *fitted*: *fitting*, *tasty*: *tasteful*, *tiring*: *tiresome*, etc.

18. Confusion in the use of function words is extremly frequent, especially in prepositions, as *It depends of the point of view*, *I want to leave these papers to you*, *I will be talking to Mr.C... until then* for *by then*, *at the TV*, *in my balcony*, *We went with a car*, *I arrived to Budapest*, *without my will*, *suffering of*, *Clouds had gathered on the sky*, *He came back on earth*, etc. Influence from Romanian is clear in many of these citations.

19. Romanian words which are polysymous offer great difficulty for students trying to distinguish between *borrow*: *lend*, *study*: *learn*.

20. Near-synonyms or terms belonging to a common semantic field also tend to be confused, as *boundary* vs. *border* or *frontier*, *before* vs. *in front of*, *game* vs. *match*, *high* vs. *tall*, the *Dalmatian shore* for *D.Coast*, *take* vs. *pick up* or *go after*, *fetch*, *way* vs. *road*, *say* vs. *speak*, *tell*, etc.

21. A final category, involving syntax and vocabulary, consists of constructions which, while technically correct and grammatical, are less felicitous than other more common phrasings, as *How is your family*? - *They're all right*, *thanks for the question* for *Thanks for asking*, *The mountain has more than 2000 meters* for *It is more than 6,000 feet high* or i*n altitude*, *He had plenty of health* for *He enjoyed ...* or *He was very healthy* or *He was never sick a day in his life*, *They would sleep in the castle during the night* for *They would spend the night in the castle*, etc.

A complete classification of such errors would include also a full account of the situational context, the subjects and their background, etc. For the development of pedagogical materials, some account of frequency should ideally also be kept, and a distinction should be made between errors specific to a group (say, of Romanians who also know German) and those which may be considered to be indiosyncratic.

Analysis of such errors could provide ultimately a more refined measure of what constitutes language proficiency, and adequate "performance" on the part of the non-native speaker. Terms such as "foreign accent", "broken speech," "fluency", "unintelligible", might then assume a more scientific value, once subjected to such factorial investigation.

THE CONTRASTIVE HYPOTHESIS IN SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

by Dumitru Chiţoran

The theoretical foundation of the contrastive hypothesis belongs to linguistics rather than to psychology as one would have expected to be the case. A possible explanation may be provided by the fact that linguists have always been closer to practical problems of language learning and language teaching, particularly after the spectacular development of the applied branch of linguistics. Linguists have also paid more attention to those situations in which languages are found in contact (bilingualism and multilingualism, translation practice,etc.) A historical survey of contrastive linguistics includes, accordingly, works by representatives of the Prague school, in the first place V. Mathesius and R. Jakobson, as well as works by U.Weinreich and E.Haugen which specifically deal with bilingualism.

The attempt to apply the contrastive hypothesis in the practical teaching of foreign language should also be related to the so called Sapir_Whorf hypothesis on linguistic relativsm and the structural uniqueness of each separate language. Mention should futher be made of another source for interest in the contrastive hypothesis, namely the fact that, for a considerable period of time the dominant ideas in explaining language acquisition were the behaviorist ones, according to which the acquisition of a second language implies forming a new system of linguistic habits, a process which may be either facilitated or blocked by the first linguistic system owing to the phenomenon of transfer.

The tasks of contrastive linguistics are clearly defined in the following quotation: "I take contrastive linguistics to be a field concerned with drawing the implications, in terms of learning facilitation and inhibition, of structural similarities and differences between the language or languages a learner has already acquired and the language he is seeking to acquire. On the basis of a comparison of the phonologies, grammars and lexicons of the languages in question, as formulated in accordance with the contrastivist's preferred model of language structure, contrastive linguistics offers hypotheses concerning identifications a learner will make between elements of his base and target systems, thus providing predictions and explanations concerning the learning behavior of presumed high value in planning learning and teaching strategy" (Nemser, 1970, p.11-12).

1.2. Contrastive linguistics has known a considerable development constituting itself into the most fertile field of research of applied linguistics.

Despite this development however, or rather, as a result of deepening this field of research, of the need to corroborate its findings with practical reality, it has become obvious that contrastive linguistics had set itself targets which were too high. Foreign language acquisition is too complex a process to be explaned in the relatively simply terms of language transfer and language interference. Both the theoretical basis and the practical research methodology were in need of thorough revision if contrastive linguistics was expected to bring about a true "revolution" in teaching foreign languages.

We are witnessing today, alongside contrastive research proper, usually carried out within the framework of large-scale projects, an activity of revaluation of the contrastive hypothesis with a view to revitalising this field of research. The fact that at the recent International Congress of Applied Linguistics in Copenhagen (August 1972) more than half of the Congress papers were read in the Contrastive Linguistics section is relevant for the perenity of this field of research. At the same Congress, however, most speakers emphasized the necessity to widen the scope of contrastive research in order to be able to provide a more complete explanation of foreign language acquisition as a highly complex process. Contrastive linguistics in its "classical" form was subjected to strong criticism, particularly in relation to the following points (cf.Slama-Cazacu, 1971):

(i) it is carried on "in abstracto", in open neglect of the place where the two (or more) linguistic systems meet, that is the foreign language learner;

(ii) it has set itself too wide an objective: the exhaustive explanation of the manner in which a foreign language is acquired. It cannot reach this objective with its present means and manner of approach, given the complexity of the phenomenon;

(iii) it overrates the hypothetical concept of transfer as the single significant factor in explaning second language learning;

(iv) it adopts a "static" position on language acquisition, which is however a dynamic process, during which earlier stages do not leave subsequent ones unaffected.

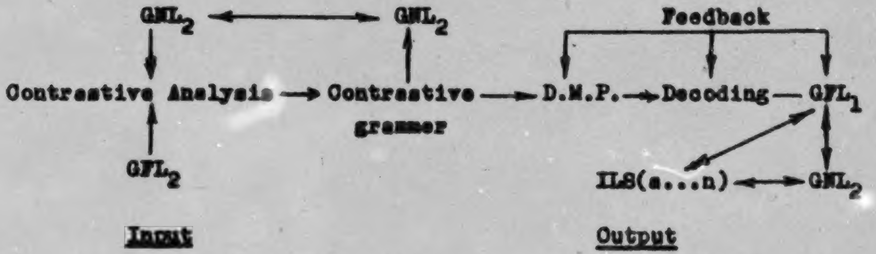
Obviously, there may be further criticism levelled at contrastive analysis. Slama-Cazacu suggested an 8 point programme for the revaluation and reformulation of the theoretical principles and research methodology of traditional contrastive linguistics.

It has been pointed out, quite rightly, (S.Eliasson 1972) that in many instances this criticism refers to shortcomings in the formulation of the theory rather than to some inherent deficiencies. This is true not only of the wide objectives that contrastive analysis set itself, but also of the so called "*in vacuo*" or "*in abstracto*" contact between the linguistic systems involved. Obviously, contrastive linguistics, which is a linguistic discipline, can say very little which is relevant about the non-linguistic factors involved in foreign language acquisition.

But at the present moment, what is really needed is not to find justification both from within or without the theory and practice of contrastive linguistics. What really matters is to subsume all points of view, either contradictory or complementary to a common aim: the elaboration of a complete theory of *language acquisition*, in which foreign languages acquisition represents one separate case and in relation to which the contrastive hypothesis can make its own contribution. This is the aim pursued in the present paper.

2.0. The basic tenet of contrastive analysis, namely that the structural similarities and differences between an already acquired language and the language to be learned will determine in some significant manner the acquisition of this second language preserves, we think, its validity and does not need argumentation.

I tried on another occasion (Chiţoran 1970) to suggest a theoretical model of second language acquisition which takes into account this hypothesis. The model, based on Nickel and Wagner (1968), may be represented in the following diagram:



In conformity with this model, the grammar of a foreign language as it is "constructed" by the learner, is esentially a contrastive grammar, or a 'contact' grammar to use the terminology suggested by W.Nemser and T.Slama-Casacu (1970). It is , at the same time, a mixed grammar since it includes elements of both grammar 1 representing the internalised linguistic competence of the learner, and grammar 2, i.e. the kind of grammar made explicit in the form of a scientific model as formulated by the linguist. It follows therefore, as pointed out by S.Golopentia Eretescu (1969), that in the case of foreign language acquisition, linguistic competence assumes a more conscientious character than in the case of native language acquisition, since it includes elements of both grammar 1, and grammar 2. Moreover, foreign language acquisition leads to an increased awareness of linguistic competence in general, precisely as a result of the explicit contrast of two linguistic systems.

2.1. One could draw the conclusion that acquiring linguistic competence in a foreign language presents characteristics which may be regamded as being "superior" when compared to the acquisition of linguistic competence in the mother tongue.

And yet, the most surprising observation that can be made when comparing native language acquisition to foreign language acquisition is the following: while the mother tongue is learned *perfectly*,a second language is, in the majority of cases, learned only in an *imperfect* manner. While native language acquisition is, so to say, certain once the process has been started,the learning of a foreign language is practically always precarious and incomplete. The child arrives at what Chomsky calls competence in a much more perfect way, while the foreign language learner, however successful in his job, still lacks the full promptness, sensibility and mastery of expression which are characteristic of the native speaker. This is more surprising as it is quite difficult to find an explanation for it. This requires, I think a revaluation of the existing opinions on child language and seeing to what extent they can offer a new perspective on foreign language acquisition.

2.2. The hypothesis advanced by E.Lennebig (1960), P. Smith and G.Miller (1966), according to which there is an innate propensity for language acquisition or, in more general terms, a predisposition to operate with extremely complex structures of stimuli, cannot be validated through observation or experiment. It is rather,an *a posteriori* explanation of the fact that at an age when the intellectual development is in an incipient phase, a complete mastery of a highly complex sytem is obtained.

2.2.1. Among the various hypotheses on child language acquisition (cf.H.Vetter and E. Howell, 1971) the idea that is gaining ground maintains that the child builds his sentences on the basis of a grammar of his own from the initial stages of language use. In other words, as soon as the child combines lexical items into utterences, he does it on the basis of certain rules, using therefore a grammatical system.

A change is also taking place in the attitude regarding the study of child language.It was usually taken for granted that the language of the child represented in actual fact a prior form of the language of the adult. Consequently in order to describe the grammar of the child, the same categories were needed as for the language of the adult. The researcher assumed that he knew the language of the child because he knew his own language.

At present, however, a different point of view is gaining ground. Instead of imposing the rules of the adult's grammar on the linguistic performance of the child, a more detached attitude is adopted in terms of which the language of the child is investigated just like any other unknown language. The linguistic system and the inventory of rules used by the child are studied in their own terms - irrespective of the linguistic model of the adult community. It would not be at all suprising to discover that in the case of second language acquisition too, a similar approach would prove useful. The grammar of a foreign language learner is usually analysed in the light of the grammatical systems of the two languages involved - the native language and the language to be learned - to which, in addition, the linguistic competence of the language teacher was taken into account. It was only normal, as a result of this approach, to emphasize the differences between the linguistic systems involved as a source of difficulties for the learner, or the conditions under which the learning process took place.

And yet, irrespective of the significance of transfer phenomena, irrespective of the impact of the teacher, of the teaching methods and materials, the foreign language acquisition process remains essentially a process of acquiring a new linguistic competence at a pace and in a manner which is set by the learner himself and which we are still far from understanding fully.

It results that a contrastive theory should include, but at the same time, should go beyond a theory of competence and performance of the source language (as the starting point in the acquisition process) and of the target language (as the final stage of this process).

Such ideas and concepts as the intermediate linguistic systems, the universals of language learning (T.Slama-Cazacu, W. Nemser and others) represent first contributions along these lines. We are dealing in fact with a widening of the scope of contrastive linguistics so as to include the psychological factors implied in the contact situation, with a simultaneous transition from a deductive approach to an inductive investigation of the processes involved in the learning process, Thus, attention which was previously paid almost exclusively to linguistic competence, is now extended to linguistic performance as well.

2.2.2. In relation to the distinction mentioned earlier between the acquisition of the native language by children and the acquisition of a foreign language which is much more difficult and practically never perfect, a naturalistic explanation of the Lenneberg hypothesis type has been advanced.

According to this explanation (L.Selinker, 1972) there exists, alongside "a latent linguistic structure" as postulated by Lenneberg and others a "latent psychological structure," which is genetically conditioned and which is activated when foreign language learning begins. It differs from the latent linguistic structure in the sense that it does not presuppose an actualisation, an obligatory realisation (the learning of a foreign language is not absolutely certain once the acquisition process has been launched). Also, it seems to be correlated to a great extent to other species specific intellectual structures.

As for those successful speakers of foreign language which acquire near native mastery (their number is reduced; Selinker appreciates that only some 5% of those learning a foreign language actually acquire that level), the explanation must be sought in their ability to reactivate the latent linguistic structure rather than the psychological structure required for the acquisition of a second language.

It is well known that in the terms of the innate hypothesis of language acquisition, the acquisition device, the latent linguistic structure undergoes important modifications around the age of 12 when "a period of brain maturation is reached" and "linguistic development tends to freeze" (G.Lenneberg, 1967, p.156).

For the problem under discussion, namely the contrastive hypothesis in foreign language acquisition, it is worth mentioning that the hypothesis is not excluded under the terms of such an explanation of second language acquisition. On the contrary, it still occupies a central role.

Among the processes to be identified in foreign language acquisition L.Selinker (1972) mentions the following five central ones: language transfer, resulting from the influence of the native language system; transfer of learning, resulting from the theaching methodology and practice to which the learner has been exposed; strategies of second language acquisition resulting from the manner in which the learner analyses the linguistic material he is to acquire; strategies of communication in the second language, resulting from the way in which he uses this material to communicate with native speakers of this language; and finally hypergeneralisation of the linguistic material of the second language, which explains many of the mistakes made by the foreign language learners.

3.0. The innate hypothesis, in relation to both native and foreign language acquisition is at present a very controversial issue and cannot be accepted without serious reservation. To refer to one instance only, the exclusion of any form of language learning in the process referred to as "language acquisition" is not in agreement with what empirical observation offers about this process.

At present we are witnessing a process of deep revision of the ideas that have dominated for a long period foreign language teaching. The behaviourist explanations of language learning were attacked vigurously particularly by Chomsky (1959) in his review of Skinner's book "Verbal Behavior " (1957). Interpreting language learning in terms of other forms of human and animal behaviour is also rejected. On the contrary, a better understanding of the nature of language and of the process of language acquisition opens new perspective for the study of mental processes, leading to a new conception of human psychology. While twenty years ago the study of behaviour everywhere in the biological world was said to lead to an understanding of language, the point of view at present is the reverse; the study of language will provide a better understanding of human mental structure.

It has been said, and not without good reason, that the new theories on language acquisition imply the deepest revaluation of our ideas concerning the human mind and human psychology in general (Stern, 1970).

There is, of course, a great danger in becoming overenthusiastic about these ideas which are still very much hypothetical in nature. What is required is a very precise evalution of the place and role played by all factors implied in language acquisition. When Lenneberg or Mc Neill for instance, in analysing the human capacity to acquire linguistic competence, emphasise the biological component of this process, they do not imply a rejection of the important role played by learning, or the influence of the environment in this process. What they basically try to do is to redress the balance, to prove that one cannot demand from a theory to explain such a complex phenomenon as language learning in a few simplistic terms such as stimulus, response, reinforcement, habit formation, generalisation, etc. On the other hand, it should be pointed out that an exageration of this biological component, as seems to be the case in at least some of the formulations of some supporters of the innate hypothesis, places language acquisition in a most singular position vis-à vis other human processes and forms of behaviour.

3.1. Foreign language teaching and learning cannot possibly remain unaffected by the present discussions on language acquisition. All ideas and concepts which have underlined the more modern methods of teaching: audio-oral, audio-lingual etc., are being reevaluated. There is, of course, nothing wrong with revising our ideas on language learning and teaching. There is common agreement at present for instance on the need to emphasize creativity in both theaching and learning a foreign language. But this process of reevaluation should not lead to a total rejection of methods which have been proved valid by practice.

The danger-and it should be remembered that it is by no means characteristic of the present situation alone, since there have been similar "radical changes" in the not too distant past-is simplification; the adoption of a unilateral point of view. In other words, it is not advisable at present to reject completely a theory on the grounds that it is too simplistic and replace it by another which, in turn, would prove equally simplistic.

4.0. An evolution of the contrastive hypothesis in foreign language learning, in the context of the on-going developments in psycholinguistic theory and more importantly in language learning theory, allows, to our mind, several conclusions;

(i) In the first place it cannot be rejected or neglected as a working hypothesis (irrespective of the explanation given to the language learning process, the fact that the foreign language learner already possesses linguistic competence in his mother tongue cannot possibly be neglected;

(ii) Secondly, contrastive linguistics should widen considerably its domain so as to be incorporated in a more general theory of second language learning. The areas for expansion are vast. Communication by means of language implies the use of context in its widest sense, including not only the environment, but also the entire experience of a speaker previous to a given speech act. Context in this wide sense is integrated into a complex system of relationships. The foreign language learner uses the system of relationships which is specific to his native language, his experience as a speaker of that language as a reference frame for his new linguistic experience in the second language. There follow quite inevitably cases of interference, wrong or inappropriate uses of the new linguistic experience. The learning of a second language implies building up new systems of reference for a new linquistic system. The traditional concerns of contrastive linguistics, should be extended so as to include the psycholinguistic, socio-cultural, anthropological and ethnographic aspects of this complex process.

The field of contrastive studies is basically a field of interdisciplinary research requiring the contribution of several sciences. The Romanian English Contrastive Analysis Project has endeavoured from the very beginning to go beyond the traditional framework of contrastive studies into two main domains; psycholinguistic and semiotics.

(iii) Thirdly, a theory of native language acquisition cannot offer by itself the theoretical foundation for an explanation of second language acquisition. What is actually needed is a general theory of language learning which should account not only for native language acquisition but also for foreign learning, for the various cases of bilingualism etc. The difficulties we encounter in the teaching and learning of foreign languages, but more precisely the scientific study of these processes may bring an

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important contribution to the formulation of such a theory, alongside the more general observation on language, native language acquisition, speech pathology, etc.

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ON THE MEANING OF SOME INTERROGATIVE PARTICLES
IN ROMANIAN AND IN ENGLISH

by E. Vasiliu

1. At first glance, the Romanian interrogative particles *cine* and *ce* seem to display an identical meaning with their English equivalents *who* and *what*, respectively : *cine* and *who* are used with respect to "persons", whereas *ce* and *what* are used with respect to "things" and "persons". For example, *what* in a question like:

(1) *What is John?*

refers to a "person", as shown in an answer like

(2) *John is a student*

whereas the same word in a question like

(3) *What is this?*

refers to an "object", as shown in a answer like

(4) *This is a book*

Romanian *ce* and *cine* parallel the English corresponding words:

(1') *Ce este Ion?*

(2') *Ion este student*

where *ce* refers to a 'person', whereas in (3'),(4') the same word refers to an 'object':

(3') Ce este aceasta?

(4') Aceasta este o carte.

At the same time, who and cine refer only to 'persons':

(5) Who is this?

with the corresponding possible answer:

(6) This is my friend

or in Romanian:

(5') Cine este acesta?

with the corresponding possible answer:

(6') Acesta este prietenul meu

Notice that in both English and Romanian (7) and (7') cannot be appropriate answers to (5), (5').

(7) This is my book

(7') Aceasta este cartea mea.

Despite this parallelism exhibited by the two languages in the use and meanings of the above mentioned particles, there are some less obvious features with respect to which the two languages differ. The following lines are intended to describe these contrast features.

2. Romanian ce and cine

a. Syntax - In a sentence like

(8) Ce este Ion ? "What is John?"

the interrogative pronoun ce refers obviously to the predicative. The appropriate answer is allowed to take one of the following possible forms:

(9) a. Ion este student "John is a student (litterally: John is student)"

b. Ion este un student "John is a student"

c. *Ion este studentul pe care l-ai intilnit ieri*
"John is the student you met yesterday"

To an interrogative sentence like

(10) *Ce sint ei?* "What are they?"

the appropriate answer is allowed to take one of the following possible forms:

(11) a. *Ei sint studenti* "They are students"
b. *Ei sint niste studenti* "They are some students"
c. *Ei sint studentii pe care i-ai intilnit ieri*
"They are the students you met yesterday".

From (9) it follows that, if the subject of the interrogative copula sentence is in the singular, the predicative of the answer sentence (which is again a copula sentence) when it is a noun (N), may occur either with no article - like in (9a), or preceded by the indefinite article (IA) - like in (9b) - or followed by the definite article (DA) - like in (9c.) - and some determinative phrase (DET). In this case, the head of the predicative phrase (which is a noun) is in the *singular* and requires the singular for all the nominal determiners sensitive to the concord rules.

Let X_{sg} be a symbol for any subject noun in the singular which is also a proper name. We can now obtain a more general statement by saying that in the context

(12) *Ce este* X_{sg}? ——

only a sentence of the form

(13) a. X_{sg} *este* N_{sg}
b. X_{sg} *este IA* N_{sg}
c. X_{sg} *este* N_{sg} *DA DET*

is allowed to occur.

In a similar way, we can say that, in the context

(14) Ce sint ei ?

(where ei stands for a noun in the plural referring to 'persons') only copula sentences of the following form are allowed to occur:

(15) a. Ei sint N_{pl}

b. Ei sint IA N_{pl}

c. Ei sint N_{pl} DA DET

(niste in (11b.) is the plural of the indefinite article, so that (11b.) does fit the conditions stipulated by the formula (15b.)).

When the predicative is referred to by the interrogative cine, we have:

(16) Cine este Ion? "Who is John?"

where the subject is in the singular. The appropriate answer is of one of the types:

(17) a. Ion este un student "John is a student"

b. Ion este studentul pe care l-ai intilnit ieri

"John is the student you met yesterday"

but never of the type:

(17) c. * Ion este student "(litterally:) John is student"

(as we have already seen, (17 c.) is an appropriate answer to a question like (8)).

If the subject is in the plural, we have:

(18) Cine sint ei? "Who are they?"

and the appropriate answers are of the type:

(19) a. Ei sint niste studenti "They are some students"

b. Ei sint studentii pe care i-ai intilnit ieri

"They are the students you met yesterday".

and never of the type

(19) c. * *Ei sint studenti* "(litterally:) They are
students"

In a more general way, using the same notational conventions, we can say that, in the context

(20) *Cine este X_{sg}*? ——

only sentences of the form (13 b.,c.) are allowed to occur and never sentences of the form (13 a.), whereas in the context

(21) *Cine sint ei*? ---

(where *ei* stands for any noun in the plural referring to 'persons') only sentences of the form (15 b., c.) are allowed to occur and never sentences of the form (15 a.).

b. *Semantics*.

From the fact that only sentences of the form (13 b., c.) and (15 b., c.) are compatible with questions of the form (20) and (21) respectively, one should infer that there is some meaning similarity between *cine* and the noun accompanied by some kind of article: either definite or indefinite. Since in sentences like (17 b.) the predicative phrase is but a definite (or individual) description, one might consider that *cine* is a kind of variable standing for such a definite (or individual) description. On the other hand, since in sentences like (17 a) the predicative phrase is an existential expression one might consider that *cine* is a kind of variable standing as well for such an existential expression. Moreover, there is an obvious relation between these two kinds of predicative phrase and the meaning of the copula *fi* "to be": in constructions like those mentioned above the copula expresses the *identity* between the individual the subject is referring to and the at least one existing individual displaying the property the predicative is referring to (17a), or the exactly one individual displaying the property the predicative is referring to (17b). As a matter of fact, the translation of (17 a., b) into the meta-language runs as follows:

(17) a'. There is at least one individual having the property 'Student' and the individual 'Ion' *is identical with* this at least one existing individual.

(17) b'. The individual 'Ion' is *identical with the* exactly one individual having the property 'Student'.

Since *cine* stands, as we have seen, for predicative phrases which are either existential expressions or definite descriptions, and since these two kinds of phrases are related to the "identity" meaning of the copula, we are allowed to consider that *cine* itself is related to the same meaning of the copula. In other words, a "*cine* - copula question" requires information concerning the individual the subject is assumed to be identical with.

From the fact that sentences of the form (13a) and (15a) are compatible with questions of the form (12) and (14) respectively, one should infer that there is some meaning similarity between *ce* and the noun with no article. Since in sentences like (9) a. the predicative phrase is but a class expression, one can say that *ce* is a kind of variable standing for such a class expression. Moreover, there is an obvious relation between this kind of predicative phrase and the meaning of the copula: in constructions like those under discussion the copula means *belongs to*, in other words, the copula expresses the fact that the individual the subject is referring to *belongs to the class* the predicative is referring to. The translation of (9)a. into the meta-language runs then as follows:

(9) a'. The individual 'Ion' belongs to the class 'student'.

However, *ce* is allowed to stand as well for predicatives of the form specified in (13 b., c.). Hence, considering - as we have already done - *ce* a kind of variable, we can say that the range of *ce* is wider than the range of *cine*; one of the "values" *ce* can take is a "class expression", a value that *cine* is never allowed to take. I suggest that this range difference could be viewed as defining the meaning difference between the two Romanian interrogative particles in a more exact way. As to the semantic - occurrence features, it should be mentionned that *ce* is compatible with the meaning "belongs to the class ..." the copula may have, whereas *cine* is never compatible with this meaning of the copula.

The cases in which *ce* and *cine* stand for predicative phrases in the plural deserve special consideration. If there is no strong reason which, I think, would prevent us from interpreting the predicative of the form N_{pl} (that is a noun with no article) as a class expression, it is hard to consider predicative phrases of the form

(22) a. IA N_{pl}

b. N_{pl} DA

simply as an existential expression and a definite description, respectively. One should interpret (22) a. as what could be called an "existential plural expression" meaning

(22) a'. There are at least two individuals having the property referred to by N

and (22) b. as "a definite plural description", meaning

(22) b'. There are exactly *n* individuals having the property referred to by N

If the above proposed interpretation is accepted, then one should also accept the idea that (22 a., b.) fall into the range of *cine* and *ce*.

Notice that the two particles are kept distinct in the plural as well, since N_{pl} (that is N with no article) is considered a "class expression" and it does not fall into the range of *cine*, whereas the same class expression does fall into the range of *ce*.

3. English *what* and *who*

a. *Syntax*. In a sentence like

(23) *What is John*?

the interrogative *what* refers obviously to the predicative. The appropriate form of the answer is

(24) a. *John is a student*

b. *John is the student you met yesterday*

An answer of the form

(24) c. * *John is student*

is never allowed.

To an interrogative sentence like

(25) *What are those*?

the appropriate answer is allowed to take one of the following possible forms:

(26) a. *They are students*

b. *They are the students you met yesterday*

An answer like

(26) c. * They are some students

seems to be rather unappropriate.

Using the same notational device like in 8.2., we can say that a question of the form

(27) What is X_{sg}?

requires an answer displaying one of the forms

(28) a. X_{sg} is IA N_{sg}

b. X_{sg} is DA N_{sg} DET

An answer like

(28) c. * X_{sg} is N_{sg}

is never allowed, because (28) c. is ill-formed.

To a question of the form

(29) What are they?

(where they stands for any noun in the plural referring to 'persons') the answer is one of the following:

(30) a. They are N_{pl}

b. They are DA N_{pl} DET

The appropriateness of an answer of the form (30 c.) is doubtful; the sign '?' in front of the sentence will be used in order to mark this characteristic:

(30) c. ? They are IA N_{pl}

A question like

(31) Who is John?

requires an answer having one of the following possible forms:

(32) a. John is a student

b. John is the student you met yesterday

but never an answer of the form

(32) c. * John is student

As to the plural, a question of the type

(33) *Who are they*?

requires an answer of the form (26) b. and even c.

In a more general way (using again the same notational device), a question of the form

(34) *Who is* $\underline{X}_{sg}$?

requires an answer of the form (28) a., b. and never of the form (28) c. (which is ill-formed).

A question of the type

(35) *Who are they*?

(where *they* stands for any noun in the plural referring to 'persons') requires an answer having one of the forms (30) b., c.

b. *Semantics*. As in the case of Romanian *ce* and *cine*, one can consider that *what* and *who* are a special kind of variables. The range of *what* is, in the singular,

(36.) a. $\underline{IA\ N}_{sg}$

b. $\underline{DA\ N}_{sg}\ \underline{DET}$

and never

(36) c. $\underline{N}_{sg}$

In the plural, the range of *what* is

(37) a. $\underline{N}_{pl}$

b. $\underline{DA}\ \underline{N}_{pl}\ \underline{DET}$

An expression of the form

(37) c. $\underline{IA\ N}_{pl}$

seems to be incompatible with the structure of an answer to a question like (29).

The range of *who* in the singular includes expressions of the form (36) a., b.; expressions of the type (36) c. do not belong to the range of this particle. The range of *who* in the plural includes expressions of the type (37)b,c; expressions of the type (37)a. do not belong to the range of *who*.

Assuming now (and I do not see any reason that might prevent us from doing so) that (36)a. is an existential expression, that (36)b. is a definite description, and that (36)c. is also a class expression,we should notice that the distinction between class expressions, on the one hand,and existential ~~expressions~~ ,definite descriptions, on the other hand, is neutralised in the singular.

Assuming,further,that in the plural expressions of the form (37)a,b,c. are class expressions,definite plural descriptions and existential plural expressions respectively,one should notice that the distiction class expression/existential plural expression,definite plural expression is neutralized in the context

(38) *Who are they?* ---

because class expressions (of the form N_{pl}) are excluded from this context the same way,the distiction existential plural expression/class expression, definite plural expression is neutralised in the context

(39) *What are they?* ---

because expressions of the form (37) c. are excluded from this position.

It is easy to see that in contexts like (38), (39), there is no clear cut distinction between class expression and existential plural expression, because of the neutralization, In the singular, the distinction between class expression and the other two types of predicative expressions is neutralised as well. These features lead to the conclusion that our previous assumption, according to which there exist in English expressions specialized for speaking about classes, should be revised. There are no such expressions; there are only predicative phrases of the form (37) a. which enable us to speak ambigously about classes in the sense that the reference to a class is in some way "entailed" by the use of such an expression, but only accompanied by other meaning feature(s).

If such is the case, it is obvious that one cannot consider that a "class expression" could be one of the values *what* could take.

On the other hand, since *what* is not definitely connected with expression which may be interpreted as "class expressions", and since a predicative having the form of a "class expression" is related to the meaning *belongs to the class* of the copula, one could at most say that *what* is *ambigously* related to this meaning.

4. *Comparison between Romanian and English interrogative particles*

From §§.2,3 it follows that the most important difference between English and Romanian with respect to the interrogative particles concerns the interrogative *ce* in Romanian and its correspondent *what* in English.

The range of Romanian *ce* covers expressions which, from a semantic point of view, may be characterised by saying that they are "class expressions". From this point of view, *ce* definitely contrasts with *cine*, the range of which never contains such class-expressions.

In this respect, English *what* contrasts with Romanian *ce*, since the range of the former does not contain expressions that could be semantically characterized as "class expressions". The range of *what* covers expressions which must be semantically characterised as "class expressions" *and* something else, This 'something else' could be either a semantic feature having to do with what has been referred to here as "existential plural expressions", or with the "plural", or with both. In seems then that, in order to describe the 'sense' of English interrogative particles one needs some more semantic features which are not necessary for describing the sense of Romanian corresponding particles. At the same time, a more exact characterisation of these additional features (such a characterization was not aimed at here) is needed.

On the other hand, even the co-occurrence semantic restrictions determining the use of the interrogative particles seem to be different in the two languages, as a consequence of the difference concerning the sense of *ce* and *what*: Romanian *ce* is clearly in relation with the meaning *belongs to the class* of the copula, since what we called "class expressions" fall into the range of Romanian *ce*; on the contrary, English *what* can never be put unambigously into relation with the same sense of the copula, since, as we have seen, there is no English expression which could be unambigously characterised as "class expression".

5. *Some methodological remarks*

It is obvious to me that differences of the kind referred to in §.4 might become a source of difficulties for a Romanian who wants to learn English (and, perhaps, vice versa). If one is told that, to a question like *What is John?* an answer like * *John is student* (corresponding to the Romanian *Ion este student*) is never to be excepted, one might get the feeling that this type of question is unappropriate for finding the class our individual

John belongs to because English does not contain a class expression exactly corresponding just to the Romanian N_{sg} but only expressions corresponding to the Romanian existential expressions (of the form IAN_{sg}).

Hence the tendency to prefer questions of the form *Who is John*? (the meaning of which is felt as "more familiar") and to avoid questions of the form *What is John?* (the meaning of which is felt as "less clear"), in spite of the fact that one knows that the two types of interrogative sentences are different in meaning and then one asks in fact for information which is a little different from the information one is interested in.

This seems to indicate also that there are areas of contrast which cannot be made obvious by a mere listing of errors simply because the learner does not necessarily make mistakes in asking or in answering questions, but simply avoids some type of constructions. In such cases only a structural comparison (of the types outlined in §.2-4 or of another type) seems to be fruitful. It seems to me worth pointing out that "listing errors" and establishing a hierarchy of them is a discovery procedure having a less general character them what I have called "structural comparison".

TOWARDS A CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF CONVERSATIONAL STRATEGY[1]

by Sanda Golopenţia-Eretescu

> " I use 'conversation' in an inclusive way. I do not intend to restrict its reference to 'the civilised art of talk' or to 'cultured interchange' as in the usage of Oakeshott (1959) or Priestly (1926), to insist on its casual character thereby excluding service contacts (as in Landis and Burtt 1924), or to require that it be sociable joined action, identity related etc. (as in Watson and Pott 1962). 'Dialogue', while being a kind of conversation, has special implications derived from its use in Plato, psychiatric theorising, Buber and others, which limits its usefulness as a general term. I mean to include chats as well as service contacts, therapy sessions as well as asking for and getting the time of day, press conferences, as well as exchanged whispers of 'sweet nothings'. I have used 'conversation' with this general reference in mind, occassionally borrowing the still more general term 'state of talk' from Erving Goffman (Schegloff (1960), 1075-6)."

This paper has been elaborated within the Project of contrastive analysis of the English and Romanian languages.

In order to make conversation an object of contrastive study we have appealed to:

1) the concept of social situation
2) the concept of natural language
3) the concept of user of a natural language, and
4) the concept of language game.

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[1] In the framework of what could be called a pragmatic, or rhetoric or dialogic approch.

I

The social situation represents the setting where conversation is made or avoided

Goffman (1964) defines it as "an environment of mutual monitoring possibilities, anywhere within which an individual will find himself accessible to the naked senses of all others who are present and similarly find them accesible to him ... a social situation arises whenever two or more individuals find themselves in one another's immediate presence and it lasts until the next-to-last person leaves."[2]

A social situation limited to putting in praesentia (at least) two individuals is called a gathering.[3] Examples of gathering are: the ensemble of the individuals in a waiting-room, in a bus, in a restaurant etc.

A social situation in which at least two individuals "jointly ratify one another as authorised cosustainers of a single, albeit moving, focus of visual and cognitive attention"[4] is defined as *encounter* or *face engagement*. Examples of encounter are: visual interaction, mimic gestural interaction, verbal interaction (conversation) between two individuals, among the members of a medical team during an operation, among the active participators in a card party, in a ball, etc.

A real social situation cannot be defined as gathering or encounter exclusively.

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[2] Cf. Goffman (1964) in Giglioli (1972), p.63.

[3] Cf. Goffman (1964) in Giglioli (1972), p.63-64, as well as in Goffman (1962).

[4] Idem p.64.

Let us suppose a minimal gathering (of two individuals). In case it is prolonged, the two individuals:

a) will initiate (one of them, both) a mutual exploration of the encounter type, or

b) will try, by an ad-hoc effort which exceeds the simple staying in praesentia, to step the conversion of the gathering in an encounter.

Different cultures regulate in different ways the normal duration of a gathering situation. The prolongation beyond a duration D of a gathering may seem natural in culture X, compulsory in culture Y, annoying in culture Z, etc.

Let us suppose a minimal encounter (between two individuals). Only rarely, in dramatic circumstances, their reciprocal exploration will be continuous. More often than not the encounter sequences alternate with gathering sequences. Different cultures regulate the intensity of the encounter in different ways and what seems to be responsive participation within a culture X, may be interpreted as an exaggerated, overinsistent, inauthentic participation within a culture Y, as incomplete, indifferent, apathetic participation to the encounter in a culture Z.

Let us consider a gathering between more than two individuals. In case it is prolonged, it constitutes, for at least some of the individuals in the gathering, either a situation of pre-encounter (which can develop into an encounter either in immediate continuation, or in another gathering in which the previous pre-encounter is rememorated) or a situation of avoiding a pre-encounter. Each culture regulates the convertibility of a gathering into an encounter in specific ways. What is interpreted as openness, sociability, sponteneity in a culture X may be conceived of as

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aggression, unjustified familiarity, curiosity in a culture Y (there are in Romanian such primary performative expressions of condemning like *e băgăret*, *te agată*, *nu-ti dă pace*, *nu te lasă în pace*, *ti se vîră în suflet*, etc. whose propositional object expresses the pressure to covert a grathering to an encounter.

Finally in an encounter with more than two individuals, the cases are rare when the cognitive attention of each of them is all the time directed towards *all the others.* In most cases the participants select one (several) individuals with respect to whom they act encounter-like while staying in gathering with respect to the remaining group and in most cases such encounter-partner(s) - choices are operated shiftingly.

The real social situation is a shifting situation of gathering - and - encounter.

The central concern of the participators in a gathering is that of remaining in keeping with the rules of copresence existing in the respective culture. In a situation of gathering. the individuals' mobility, their movements beyond certain spatial limits, the interference by gesture, sight etc, in the territory controlled by the other participators are the object of specific cultural prescription..

The central concern of the participators in an encounter is that of coordinating the interaction. As far as verbal interaction is concerned this can be achieved by controlling the turns.

By *turn* we mean that sequence of an encounter between the moment a participator X starts speaking and the moment X ceases to speak, on condition that,within the given sequence,X should be engaged exclusively in uttering a message or exclusively in reacting to a message he was subjected to before.

We are not interested for the moment in the language used by X.

According to the definition above we shall treat as two turn -sequences cases such as:

/(Fine, thank you) (How are you this morning?)/

/(Mulţumesc bine.) (Şi dumneavoastră?/

in which, though the speaker did not cease to speak, the first component is a reaction to:

/(Good morning Mr.X. How are you this morning?)/

/(Bună ziua domnule X. Ce mai faceţi?)/

respectively, while the second is a message X directs to his encounter partner.

Following the same definition we shall treat as four distinct turns the cases in which two speakers, X and Y, simultaneously utter the same expression such as, for example /Good morning/ or /Bună ziua/.

Although, in them, the expressions are identical, they are (a) uttered by different speakers, and (b) they are ambiguous as to their reaction or primary message nature. We thus could represent the Good morning encounter as follows:

X	/ Good morning^1/	(= primary message)
	/ Good morning^2/	(= reaction message)
Y	/Good morning^3/	(= primary message)
	/Good morning^4/	(= reaction message)

where the allowed exchanges are 1-3 or 4-2.

In conformity with the same definition we shall treat as a single turn

- the instances when due to self-editing, to the fact that he changes his mind, etc, the utterer "draws back" his message for correction, annuls the message in process starting another one, etc.

Example: John has come. In fact he hasn't come. But ....,
I agree with you. No I don't. Why should I agree?
I don't agree at all.

- the utterances accompanied or interrupted by *back-channel messages.*

The observer of a social situation cannot know how it is internalized by each of the participators. Even if he is familiar with their culture and even if the practice of observing has sharpened his ability of differentiated reception and emphaty, he will not "observe" those cases when the participators are behaving *as if they were in gathering* (but they are in encounter) or when they are behaving *as if they were in encounter* (but they are in gathering), and especially, he will not be able to follow the distribution, modifiable in each moment, of every person in gathering (encounter) with respect to the other participants.

The social situation is an *intraobservational one*, in other words, a situation that can only sometimes be defined, and only by the participators in the respective situation.

This *intradefining* is more or less concious:[5] the person engaged in a social situation has in most cases the vague feeling that things "are not in order".

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[5] One could apply to the intraobservational social situations Moulond's (1969), p.123 remarks about linguistic structures: these "ne sont ni des formes de type biologique ou sociologique qui existet en dehors de tout contrôle du schème logique, ni des formes de type mathématique dominées par une logique interne. Elles s'imposent comme un état intermédiaire de la légalité, avec un double référence à la nature et à la logique, à la vision ou acte qui s'échappe à lui-même et à l'opération qui se dirige elle-même".

The access - by emphathy - to the intraobservational area of the social situation is offered in a natural way to all those who share the same conditions of life, the same culture, the same language. It is the case per excellence of the native researcher (anthropologist, linguist, etc.), but at the same time, also the case of the *témoin* researcher (the anthropologist, the linguist who are doing field work).

Témoin is maybe not the adequate term inasmuch as what is required from the nonnative researcher is to transcend the observer status, to *enter the social situations* both as an addresser and as an addressee. In a similar way, what is required from the non-patient psychoanalist is to transcend the observer status, to enter, at least once, the psychoanalysis situation as an interviewee himself.

Anthropology, linguistics, psychoanalysis have similar psychological implications to the extent they represent hypotheses "about the tacit knowledge that emerges with exposure to appropriate experience.[6]

As far as a situation is *intraobservational* the social situation is *infinite* and *unpredictable*.

The participator in the situation defines himself anew at every moment with respect to all the coparticipators. To such an end he is free to resort to the parameters of the ongoing situation, to the parameters of other situations of the same type, that have involved the same participators, that have arisen in him similar reactions.

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[6] Cf. *Chomsky* (1963) p.82, note 8.

The researcher can make assumptions regarding the way in which sex, age, occupation, social status, physical state, will direct the definition of the situation in the participator. He will thus relate the social extra-observational situation to social *intraobservational* situations comprised in his cultural experience.[7]

Both the participator in a situation and the observer can operate - consequently with real (presumed real), relevent (irrelevent) parameters.

In spite of its infinite and unpredictable character, the intraobservational situation is every time globally dealt with by the participator. He seems therefore to effect a "situation-calculus" that enables him to manage the given situation with an addequate interpretation.

To refer to the result of such a calculus we shall specialise Yngvé's term *state of mind*.

We are not interested, in what follows, in the way the participator to the situation comes to a *state of mind.*

From the infinity of shades which can characterise this state of mind, we are interested only in the poles: *insider/outsider*. We shall call *insider* that state of mind which, regardless of its idiosyncratic nature, results in the maintaining of the participant within the limits of a social situation (possibly evolving from gathering to encounter).

We shall call *outsider* that state of mind which, irrespective of its idiosyncratic nature, has as an effect the extration of the participator from outside the limits of a social situation (possibly evolving from encounter to gathering) and his transformation into an observer.

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[7] For the sake of simplification we presupose that the observer observes a "native social situation".

We are not interested which of the infinite set of parameters of any social situation orients the participator towards an insider or outsider self-evaluation.

Notice that (a) with respect to one and the same parameter one and the same individual, although culturally preconditioned, can, in different moments, make contradictory options, more or less motivated; (b) most often a certain interpretative option is determined by a configuration of parameters and not by a single one; (c) irrespective of implied parameters, once the participator has come to an *insider/outsider* state of mind his behaviour in a social situation will follow, roughly speaking, the same way.

Témoin expresses this transition; besides the fact that he has *watched* the development of an event, what gives importance to the witness is the fact that he has *participated* (be it tacitly or passively) in this development.

In this case, I have referred to nonnative researchers who are témoins in comparison with the manifestations of a given community X as far as they have been engaged in *gathering* situation with native members of the X community and to non-native researchers who are *adopted* by the X community as far as they have been engaged in *encounter* situations with the native members of the community X.

Their position of researchers-observers (not trained in gathering or encounter) is however difficult to imagine as far as, from the social point of view, the average individual automatically joins either gathering or encounter.

We would rather say that the researcher is a participant of a special type in the social situations of the natives whom he observes.

In this way the *state of mind* concept allows the researcher to transcend the infinitive and unpredictable character of the *intraobservational* social situation.

The moment a subject evaluates himself as insider in a social situation of the encounter type, he will be aware not only of who *has the turn* but also of who *has the floor*.

We say that a participant *has the floor* so long as he is the one who furnishes *the main topics* of the encounter, which the coparticipants (and he himself) divide through alternative turns into subtopics and explore as such.

While a participant has the floor it is not excluded that another should take over the turn (making a remark, suggesting an addition, an ammendment etc.).

The giving up (the processing, the taking) of the turn represents an incomparably simpler process than the giving out (the processing, the taking) of the floor.

The opposition *has the turn/has the floor* is the opposition between an extraobservational characteristic and an intraobservational characteristic of the encounter situation.

By observing the alternative turns the participants externally coordinate the social situation.

By recognising one participant at a time as having the floor, the participants in the encounter internally coordinate the social situation.

Ingvé has studied the relation between *having the turn and having the floor* in the context of ad-hoc experiments.

One of the examples analysed by him is the following. After being given instructions two individuals that have never met before develop the following conversation: "He: "O.K." She: "And, I don't know how much you know about me" He: "I know nothing about (she simutaneously: "O.K.") you at all, it's all a big secret". She: "All right - ll - should I start then?" He: "You start". She: "O.K. I'm a ... [8]. As can be seen, both participants changed some turns till one of them (she) overtook the floor, by consensus.

II

We apply the term natural language X to a set X_1, X_2, ... X_n of idiolects among which there exists a family likeness which can be perceived by the unsophisticated user.

The unsophisticated user perceives this family likeness even in cases in which, for him, there is no accessibility between X_1 and X_2 (e.g. a fisherman, who hears an architect speaking, can realise if the architect speaks his native language even if he does not understand what the architect says).

The features of natural languages we shall be interested in, in our analysis are the following:

1. natural languages admit vague terms and orders of vagueness
2. natural languages admit the figurative use of their terms
3. natural languages include their pragmatic metalanguage.

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[8] Cf. Yngve (1970) p.575.

According to Alston (1964) a term is vague if there are cases in which there is no definite answer as to whether the term "applies" [9] and further on "It is characteristic of vague terms that there is no precise boundary between areas of clear application or non application and areas of indeterminacy of application, any more than there are sharp boundaries between application" and non application[10].

The vague[11] character of a word is explained by the fact that when forming the concept for which they resort to a certain word X, the speakers "arm it" only for certain contingencies (those of the situation in which they conceptualise)[12]. With respect to these contingencies the word X will always be clearly applicable. With respect to all the other contingencies the application of the word X implies an ad-hoc decision from behalf of the speaker and it can be questioned.

Examples of vague terms are: inhabitant, city, fruit, middleaged, hot, cold, mountain, community, etc.

Natural languages differ in the sense that a vague term in language X can correspond to a term that is not vague in language Y.

Even if to a vague term in language X, there corresponds a vague term in language Y, with respect to a given situation the application, non-application or indeterminacy of application circumscribe differently for the respective terms.

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[9] Cf. Alston (1964) p.84.

[10] Idem, p.95, Cf. Zadeh (1972) for a similar definition.

[11] Weissmann (1952) speaks in this respect about open texture of a term.

[12] Cf.Weissmann (1952), and Alston (1964) p.94, "... when we form a concept, we only have certain kinds of situations in mind, as a result,the concept is armed only against certain contingencies".

In a natural language, the words can be used in an intelligible way without being used in their established sense.[13]

The figurative usage of words is based on the command of the language. Examples of figurative usage are the so called idiotisms:fork in the road, leg of a table, leaf of a book, stem of a glass, eye-lids, knife and fork, he knit his bow, he blew his top, he got into a stew, he is a very cold person, hard liquor, stabbing pain, he was transported etc, but especially the spontaneous "creations" of the speakers.

If we admit that the lexicon of a language concentrates the established meanings of the words (morphemes, formatives) of a language, the figurative usage marks the permissible informal leeway[14] admitted in observing the native lexicon. The speaker can use figuratively any of the words in the lexicon, but he cannot use figuratively all the words he resorts to during a conversati

The speaker can use figuratively any of the words in the lexicon, but he must admit that this usage commits him towards the interlocutors in the sense that they will understand it as an act of methaphorical modelling, of "specifying a model or icon for something without specifying the respects in which it is an icon".[15]

The methaphorical modelling is the frame by which, even if this was not the speaker's intention, the interlocutor tries to justify to himself the contradiction between the obligation to use the word in its established sense and the fact, that, in the given situation, the word is used in a sense different from the established one.

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[13] Cf.Alston (1964) p.97, and further on: "Wherever an expression is used so that, even though it is used in none of its established senses, nevertheless, what is said is intelligible to a fairly sensitive person with a command of the language, the expression will be said to be used figuratively".

[14] The expression appears in Hall (1969), p.80.

[15] Cf.Alston (1964) p. 105.

The attitude of the speaker of a natural language towards a usage that does not conform to the preestablished standard,seems to be one of justification,by that differing from the attitude of the user of an artificial language (who, when exposed to a usage different from the preestablished standard, does not accept the usage.[16]

The figurative usage imposes to the speaker the observing of some grammatical restrictions. These seem to concern the grammatical complexity of the statements, their generative cost. If we admit that an utterance in which the words are used with their proper sense is, from a grammatical point of view, simpler than a statement in which the words are used figuratively, then we can perceive the explanation of the fact that, for instance, idiomatic expressions do not nominalize. One cannot say "The whiteness of the lie, the blindness of the alley, verdeata românului (the greeness of the Romanian) etc., and this to the extent to which the figurative usage + nominalization generate a grammatically overcharged structure (therefore hardly interpretable "on the spot", as a construction must be when used in the conversational "give and take").

A natural language includes its pragmatic metalanguage in so far as it includes words naming:

(A) types of speech acts,

(B) types of speech act products,

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[16] Cf. Ziff (1967).

(C) types of speech act agents,

(D) types of speech act experiencers.

(E) types of speech act contexts where words or phrases designating types of possible worlds are included).

Words of the type (A-E) have not, as far as we know, been studied yet, Austin and Searle were interested in the words and phrases in and per *which* a speech act *is performed* rather than in the words and phrases by which a speech act or one of its accessories *is designated*.

Under the name of *indexical expressions* (Peirce), *egocentric particulars* (Russell), *token-reflexive expressions* (Reichenbach) *indicator-words* (Goodman), *noneternal sentences* (Quine) the respective authors studied the words and phrases by which the speaker *performs* the *contextualization* of the speech act rather than the word and phrases that designate types of posible contexts (worlds) with respect to a speech act.

Class (A) includes words designating:

(A_1) locutionary acts of articulation

(A_2) locutionary acts of the fatic type,

(A_3) locutionary acts of the rhetic type,

(A_4) illocutionary exercitive acts,

(A_5) illocutionary verdictive acts,

(A_6) illocutionary comissive acts,

(A_7) illocutionary behabitive acts,

(A_8) illocutionary expositive acts,

(A_9) perlocutionary acts.

A type of speech act that has a name in the natural language X is an "overt" speech act for the users of X. A type of speech act that has no correspondent name in X is a "covert" speech act for the users of X.

It is to be expected that the rules (conventions) for the felicitous performance of overt speech acts should be easier intuited by speakers than the rules of the felicitous performance of covert speech acts.

Classes (A_4) - (A_8) partially intersect the class of explicit performatives discussed by Austin. Many explicit performatives provide not only the unambigous performance of the respective act, but also its name in general.

B. The words designating types of "products" of the speech acts can be classified in the same way as the words designating types of speech acts, as follows:

(B_1) products of a locutionary act of articulation
(B_2) products of a locutionary fatic act,
(B_3) products of a locutionary rhetic act,
(B_4) products of an illocutionary exercitive act,
(B_5) products of an illocutionary verdictive act,
(B_6) products of an illocutionary commissive act,
(B_7) products of an illocutionary behabitive act,
(B_8) products of an illocutionary expositive act, and
(B_9) products of a perlocutionary act.

C. The C class words designate:

(C_1) specialized agents of the locutionary acts of articulation
(C_2) specialized agents of the locutionary fatic acts,
(C_3) specialized agents of the locutionary rhetic acts,
(C_4) specialized agents of the locutionary exercitive acts,

(C_5) specialised agents of illocutionary verdictive acts,

(C_6) specialized agents of illocutionary commissive acts,

(C_7) specialised agents of some of the illocutionary behabitive acts,

(C_8) specialized agents of some of the illocutionary expositive acts,

(C_9) specialised agents of some of the perlocutionary acts.

D. In a parallel way, class (D) includes words that denominate:

(D_1) specific experiencers of locutionary acts of articulation,

(D_2) specific experiencers of the locutionary fatic acts,

(D_3) specific experiencers of the locuitionary rhetic acts,

(D_4) specific experiencers of some of the illocutionary exercitive acts,

(D_5) specific experiencers of some of the illocutionary verdictive acts,

(D_6) specific experiencers of some promissive illocutionary acts,

(D_7) specific experiencers of some illocutionary behabitive acts,

(D_8) specific experiencers of some of the illocutionary expositive acts,

(D_9) specific experiencers of some perlocutionary acts.

III

The user of a natural language can be conceived as a function of:

- structured sets of *agents*,
- structured sets of *tasks*,
- structured sets of *grammars*.

Of the structured sets of agents we mention:

- *the membership groups* (the groups the user belongs to)

and - *the reference groups* (the groups whose norms the user appreciates,that he respects).

The most important membership groups of the users of a language are:

- the group of native users,
- the group of non-native users of the respective language.

In case we limit ourselves to considering the opposition native user/non-native user in an encounter situation not framed by a gathering, we can distinguish among three types of conversations:

(1) native user/native user conversation,

(2) native user/non-native user conversation

(3) non-native user/non-native user conversation

The conversations of type (2) bring *through convention*

- both users in the situation of "willing themselves"[17]
- the non-native user in the situation of "pretending that".

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[17] Cf. Vesey (1964).

We use "willing himself" in Vesey's (1964) acceptation ("largely a matter of encouraging himself not to give in, not to release his grasp or give way, worrying about the impression he is making".[18]).

Both the native and the non-native user are willing themselves to understand and to make themselves understood, to follow and to be followed.

Willing himself is the result of a state of mind of outsider that both the native and the non-native speakers have with respect to their conversation.

Hence, the importance - in conversations of type (2), of the social-images, of the representation-stereotypes by which the ingroup builds an image of the outgroup that should justify the deliberate behaviour towards the outgroup.[19]

A user who "is willing himself", engages in euristical conversations. This means that he arbitrates his own locutionary and illocutionary acts, that he watches himself while he is conversing, that he deliberates over his turns.

This selfarbitration may take the extreme form of the aside. L.Wittgenstein imagines such an aside when he writes: "Supposing I had a habit of accompanying every English sentence which I said aloud by a German sentence spoken to myself inwardly —— or, before any sentence which we say aloud we say its meaning (whatever it may be) to ourselves in a kind of aside".

Austin means by pretending[20] "trying to make others belive, or to give them the impression, by means of a current personal performance in their presence that I am (really, only) a b c, in order to disguise the fact that I am really x y z [20]. The specificity of pretending that is its verbal realisation and the fact that a, b, c and x y z refer to the cognitive state of the speaker[21].

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[18] Idem, p.45.

[19] Cf.Wittgenstein (1965), p.34-35.

The grater the distance between a b c (the conversational competence in language simulated by the non-native user) and x y z (= the conversational competence in language of the non-native user) the more the conversational performances of the non-native user will aim at:

(a) including more elements liable to suggest conversational competence in X. We will call these elements conversational competence pseudo-symptoms. Examples: verbal explicitness, mixture, excessive figurative usage;[22]

(b) resorting to several elements capable of suggesting the percieving of conversational incompetence: excessive self-editing, excuses.

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[20] Stalnaker (1972) uses the expression "innocent deception" when he speaks about the anthropologists mimetism, meant to optimize the communication with the native speakers, or about literary fiction. Cf.in this sense Stalnaker (1972), p.389: "... a speaker may presuppose what is untrue to facilitate communication, as when an anthropologist adopts the presuppositions of his primitive informant in questioning him" and, later on, "speaker and audience may conspire together in presupposing things untrue, as when the author of a novel presupposes some of what was narrated in earlier chapters".

[21] Cf.Austin (1964), p.114: "in pretending, contemporary behaviour misleads as to contemporary fact ..., in pretending that the pretence-behaviour is particularly liable to take the form of verbal behaviour, since that is particularly apt for creating impressions about our congnitive status".

[22] It is interesting that the effect obtained is in both situations just opposed to the one aimed at Cf.Gumpers (1970),p.24: " ... the greater the verbal explicitness the less the reliance on shared commonalty of background". And further on,p.26: "An out-sider using" ingroup speech "may give the impression of talking down or intruding on others private affairs".

(c) avoiding the elements which allow the competence incompetence diagnosis. Example: the figurative use, the emotive words, the implicit performing of illocutionary acts, etc.

(d) resorting to several elements which do not allow the competence/incompetence diagnosis Examples: the use of vague terms the use of observation sentences.

Vice-versa, the more the distance between abc and xyz decreases, the more such parasitic elements introduced in the nonnative speaker's performance tend to disappear and he becomes capable of developing neutral conversations in the foreign language.

We call neutral conversations those conversations in which none of the users is, according to convention, "willing himself" or "pretending that".We mention convention for individually, the participators in a conversation may be in the position of "willing" themselves" or of "pretending that".

Conversations of type (1) and (2) are neutral conversations. In (1), the participators are felt as sharing the same conversational competence and, therefore, they have no reason for "willing themselves" or for "pretending that". In (3) the participants know they share linguistic incompetence, with respect to the same language and consequently they do not have why to "will themselves" or to "pretend that".

The motivation of "willing himself" and of "pretending that" appears to be not the real distance but the distance postulated by convention between possibilities and requirements (in the case of "willing himself") between actual possibilities and simulated possibilities (in the case of "pretending that").

No matter how much the actual distance diminishes, the conventional distance keeps the same. Therefore, a conversation of type (2) never becomes a totally neutral conversation.

A neutral conversation is characterised by non deliberate fluency. Only regarding such a conversation type cán one ask "how long does it take to know how to go on? Or is it an instantaneous process?"[23]

Even if it is "more fluent" than conversations of type (1) or (3) a conversation of type (2) is definable through "deliberate fluency".

The most important refference groups of the users of a language are:

- speaker versus listener versus auditor
- initiator versus interlocutor

We call a speaker that participant in an encounter who has the turn. We call a listener that participant in an encounter who is to have the next turn.

We call an auditor that participant in an encounter with at least three participants who does not have the turn and who is not to have the next turn, or the participant in a gathering that frames an encounter.

The speaker is committed:

a) to release his turn at the proper moment,

b) in such a way as to have contributed evidently both for him and for the listener to the progress of the conversation,

c) in such a way as to make obvious his committment as a listener with respect to the next speaker.

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[23] Cf.Wittgenstein (1965), p.40.

If the speaker does not release his turn at the suitable moment the listener will feel justified to get out of the encounter. If the speaker does not contribute to the progress of the conversation in a way which is evident both to him and to the listener, then the bored listener will feel entitled to get out of the encounter. If the speaker does not make it clear to the listener that he commits himself as next listener, then the listener will feel entitled to get out of the encounter.

The listener is committed:

a) to take over the next turn

b) in such a way that it be compatible with the immediately preceding turn and that it contribute to the progress of the conversation.

c) in such a way that his turn should maintain the new listener in the same situation of committment.

If the listener does not take over the next turn he loses the quality of listener and he becomes an auditor.

If the turn the former listener emits as a speaker is not compatible with the immediate preceding turn despite the compatibilisation efforts the new listener is obliged to make, then the former listener is considered as unsuitable with respect to the respective conversation.

If his turn does not maintain the new listener in the same situation of committment, then the listener under discussion is not fit with respect to the other participipant in the conversation.

The auditor is committed:

a) to non-immixture during the ongoing turn.

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b) to non-immixture during the proximate release of turn

c) to non-immixture during the proximate taking over of the turn.

We shall call *initiator*[24] the user who has the floor in the encounter. We shall call *interlocutor* the participant in the encounter who has not the floor. We shall call *invited-initiator* that one of the participants in the encounter to whom the floor is explicitly adjudged (by a succession of preliminary turns).

We shall call *invited interlocutor* the participant in an counter who is explicity asked (or explicitly denied) the floor.

The coupling in the encounter of a speaker to a listener, of an initiator to an interlocutor implies:

a) that there is a partial representation of the listener to the speaker and vice-versa.

b) that there is a representation of the interlocutor in the initiator and vice versa[25].

The auditor whose role is shaped in a gathering frame does not necessarly internalise partial representaions of the speakers, listeners, initiators, interlocutors and is not necessarily the object of some partial representations in speakers, listeners, initiators, interlocutors.

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[24] The definition given to the speaker by Grice apud Apostel (1971) p.15-16, is a definition of the initiator: "A speaker is a person who can speak, i.e., who can initiate the complex interaction".

[25] This idea appears in Apostel (1971), p.25: "It is only by means of the existence in S of this partial pepresentation of H that S can controle interaction in such a way as *to reach in H a given relation between sign inputs and sign outputs*." (S = Speaker, H = hearer).

Hypothesis. After a number $X \geq 2$ of turns, among the speaker or the initiator on the one hand, and the listener or the interlocutor respectively, on the other, a difference appears in the sense that the latter ones modify more than the first ones their state of mind and their natural grammar. We shall refer to this hypothetic intraobservational modification by the term *communication*.[26]

If the previous hypothesis is valid then, to the extent that all of the participants in a conversation reach earlier or later the position of listener(s) we could say that the (conversation) achieves a *formative* function it modifies the state of mind and the natural grammar of the participants.

The typology of conversations can be refined by taking into consideration the groups Speaker/Listener/Initiator/Interlocutor/ Auditor and the groups Native/Non-native.

In the figure below we marked by "+" "the native user and by "-" the non-native user.

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[26] Apostel (1971), p.57 defines the relation of communication C as "a production of speech acts having as effect the modification in at least one of the user of a language X, either (a) of the interpretation of X, or (b) of the set of theoremes (considered with respect to a determined set of reference points for the respective user). The user which undergo(es) this change is (are) defined as hearer(s): "A hearer is ... such that one or more other speakers (hearer = potential speaker) modify the hearer's own interpretation of the language L after an occurence of the C relation between the latter and the former(cf.Apostel (1971), p.5). The user who does not undergo this change is defined as *speaker*. We depart from Apostel by the following elements: 1. we operate with two pairs (*speaker-listener* and *initiator-interlocutor*) while Apostel operates with one pair only (*speaker-hearer*). 2. we consider that relation C is independent of the definition of the speaker-hearer listener couple, while Apostel considers that relation C is given and builds on it the couple speaker-hearer. 3. Apostel considers that relation C is an asymmetrical relation in the sense that the hearer modifies and the speaker maintains his interpretation of L and his set of theoremes. We consider that

	Speaker	Listener	Initiator	Interlocutor	Auditor
1	+	+	+	+	
2	+	-	+	-	
3	+	-	-	+	
4	-	+	+	-	
5	-	+	-	-	
6	-	-	-	-	
7	+	+	+	+	+
8	+	+	+	+	-
9	+	-	+	-	+
10	+	-	+	-	-
11	+	-	-	+	+
12	+	-	-	+	-
13	-	+	+	-	+
14	-	+	+	-	-
15	-	+	-	+	+
16	-	+	-	+	-
17	-	-	-	-	+
18	-	-	-	-	-

As can be seen,by combining the two group-types criteria we obtain a number of 18 types of conversation.

We mean by "tasks" the types of transformations (= actions) in which the users of a natural language are involved.

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between the speaker and the listener there is no difference but of the degree in which both modify their state of mind and their natural grammar and the fact that the hearer is more "modified" than the speaker remains to be proved.

These can have a local or a global character.

Out of the local tasks we shall deal with turn tasks.

Out of the global ones we shall have in view topic tasks.

A succession of turns is a state of talk.

The main types of turn-tasks are:

(1) the establishment of a state of talk

(2) the maintaining of a state of talk, and

(3) the conclusion of a state of talk.

The carrying out of the turn-tasks is achieved both by verbal and by non-verbal means, through specific illocutionary speech acts.

The illocutionary acts through which a state of talk is established are commissive or behabitive illocutionary acts, as, for instance the introducing act, the greeting act, the summoning act, etc.

We can regroup all the above - mentioned illocutionary acts in as much as all acts conventionally confer to the addresser the quality of a listener.

Being given the addresser A and the addressee B the uttering of turn X at moment i, commits B in uttering turn Y at the moment i + 1.

We shall call such illocutionary acts, reciprocal illocutionary acts.

A reciprocal illocutionary act establishes a state of talk having the form:

moment i : A-turn X

moment i+1 : B-turn Y

An act of presentation establishes the state of talk:

moment i : A-presentation

moment i+1: B-presentation,

An act of greeting establishes the state of talk:

moment i: A-greeting

moment i+1: B-greeting, etc.

A state of talk set in by illocutionary acts, is a _relatively closed_ state of talk.

We mean by relatively closed state of talk a state of talk where the turns are not distributed beyond the moment i+1.

After a state of talk like those set in by presentation, greeting, etc. either A, or B, or neither A, nor B, may take a turn Z, without any conventional commitment to this end.[27]

A relatively-closed state of talk may _constitute_ a conversation (there are conversations limited to reciprocal presentation, to reciprocal greeting) or may be _reopened_ (in Romanian we use the phrase _a redeschide vorba_).

There are illocutionary acts that set in a state of talk in three tempi which confer by convention a Listener commitment both to the addressee and the addressor.

In this kind of acts, the addressee Listener is committed as against the turn of next to the ongoing turn X, while the first addressor-himself is commited as against the turn Z next to Y.

A state of talk established by such "bumerang" acts, achieved by the addressor A towards the addressee B, has the following form:

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[27] A commitment may exist through what is idiosincretic and extraconversational in a situation.

moment i : A-turn X
moment i+1 : B-turn Y
moment i+2 : A-turn Z

In a summoning act, the turn of A at the moment i+2 is from B's point of view obligatory and renewable.

The turn of A is renewable as long as B waits for A to furnish the topic of discussion (therefore, to undertake the floor).

In case at the moment i+2 A did not provide the topic of discussion, the duration of B's waiting will depend on his patience so that at the moment i+4, i+6, ... etc. A should provide the topics.

A state of talk established by summoning can therefore take the form:

moment i : A-summons
moment i+1 : B-answer
moment i+2 : A-topic of discussion

or

moment i : A-summons
moment i+1 : B-answer
moment i+2 : A-turn (which does not indicate the topic of discussion)
moment i+3 : B-turn
moment i+4 :
.
.
.
moment i+2n : A-topic of discussion

From this point of view, the act of summoning is an illocutionary act that instaurates an extremely powerful state of talk.

It is interesting that, whenever the conditions are less favorable for a normal conversation, the talkers automatically resort to summoning. An example of this is: telephone conversation.

Not being in each other's presence, the users start the conversation by summoning + greeting, by summoning + introducing + greeting, but never by introducing (or greeting) exclusively.

Another example of strategical use of summoning is represented by the way in which children (who have limited conversational rights) start the conversation with an adult.

Developing an idea put forth by Harvey Sacks, Schegloff (1968) comments on the conversational ability in the use by native English speaking children of: "You know what, Mommy?": "A phrase such as "You know what, Mommy?", inviting a "what?" as its return, allows the child to talk by virtue of the obligation thereby imposed upon him to answer a question while retaining a certain freedom in this response by virtue of the adults inability to know in advance what would have been an adequated, complete satisfactory or otherwise socially acceptable answer."[28]

We would mention with respect to this initiation of the conversation by summoning in order to spare one's initiative in another turn, enunciations of the type "Guess what" or, in Romanian, "Ghici ce s-a intimplat?", "Ce crezi că s-a intimplat?", "ştii ce am auzit?" etc. whose emitter is not necessarily a child.

The maintaining of a state of talk requires:

(i) The Listener's renewal, in the limits established by convention, of his Listener commitment.

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[28] Cf.Shegloff (1968), p.1092.

(ii) the exteriorisation, by the Speaker, of his intention to pass over the turn.

(iii) the exteriorisation by the Listener of his desire to be given the turn.

The longer the turn, the more dependent the Speaker is upon signals by which the Listener renews his Listener commitment.

The expressions we have in view as commitment signals correspond to the expression that Yngve (1970) calls "backchannel messages".

The commitment signals emmitted by the Listener can be:

- simple or
- complex

Simple commitment signals correspond to a comissive illocutionary act.

They are realised by the rythmical production (with a special intonation, the so-called white intonation) or some (certain) interjections or adverbs of the type: "uh-huh-uh-huh-uh-huh-"mmhmm", "yes-yes-", "yeah" or in Romanian "îhî", "aha", "da-da" (often to be found in the sequence "da-da-da-da, da"), "sigur", "păi; sigur că da", "bineinţeles", etc.

Complex commitment signals are simple signals doubled by illocutionary acts of commenting or by expositive illocutionary acts such as pseudoquestioning, pseudoanswering, etc.

Illocutionary commenting acts are acts by means of which the Listener asserts that he is not of the same opinion, that he has no opinion, that he knows what the talk is about, that he has no idea of what is all about, that he believes it or not, that he does not know what to believe, etc. concerning the turn in question.

We shall call them respectively assenting commentaries, epistemic commentaries, and doxastic commentaries.

At the gestural level the assenting commentary is expressed by nodded yes, smiled yes, approving looks.

At the verbal level it is expressed by the interjections or the above mentioned adverbs in the case of simple signals + assenting intonation and as far as Romanian is concerned by phrases such as: "Imi inchipui", "E clar".

By epistemic comment expressions simultaneous with the referential expressions of the ongoing turn, the Listener commits himself to a knowledge of the referents of these expressions.

By epistemic comment expressions simultaneous with the object of some factive verbs present in the ongoing turn, the Listener commits himself to a knowledge of the state of fact expressed by the object.

The example provided by Yngve (1970) throws light on the preperatory conditions of an epistemic comment of the first type.

Yngve has recorded the following two sequences of turns in the course of the same conversation: (1) "There is a fellow here, Bob Fabry ... "uh-huh", "who's been writing his dissertation ...", and (2) "There's a mathematician, called Serge Lange", (dead pan and silence), "and he is one of the ..." In the first case, the Listener knows Bob Fabry and inserts a back-channel message on the spot, in the second case, although the Speaker's intonation is similar, the Listener who does not know Serge Lang, does not insert a back-channel message.

Explicit phrases of epistemic comment are the conversational "I know", "sure";("ştiu", "sigur că da" in Romanian).

In doxastic comment expressions simultaneous with the referential expressions of the turn in process, the Listener commits himself to a Belief (an Opinion) which is similar to the Belief (Opinion) expressed by the Speaker.

Explicit expressions of doxastic comment are "Oh, I can believe it" (in Romanian "Te cred", Cred și eu" etc.).

We say that the Listener addresses the Speaker an act of pseudoquestioning when, although he does not know the answer to the question he is asking, the Listener knows that it will be included all the same in the normal development of the ongoing turn.

In this respect, by means of pseudoquestioning, the Listener performs a perlocutionary act of "pentru a grăbi pe", a zori pe", quickening the Speaker and commits himself as eager and interested with respect to the latter's turn.[29]

Examples of pseudoquestioning expressions are: (the Speaker talks about dissertation) "You've started writing it then - your dissertation?[30] or, for Romanian, "Și ai mers?", "Și?", "Și după aceea?", "Și mai departe?", "Și ciţi s-au dus?", "Și cit a ţinut?", "Și cum a mers?", etc.

We say that the Listener addresses the Speaker an act of pseudo-answering when, although the speaker has not asked him anything in this respect (and has not hesitated, has not chosen his words etc.), the listener volunteers words for the ongoing turn.

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[29] It is interesting that in the semantic description of the interogative Chafe (1968) perceives the necesity of an /Impatient/ feature.

[30] Example from Yngve, (1970), p.574.

Yngve (1970) gives the following example "When you've accumulated possessions, ... ", "piece by piece[31], where "piece by piece" shows the agreement and the capacity of predication, sharpened by the Listener's previous conversation of experience .

We should mention in this respect that the phrases and expressions which include a word of the principal message and which are known to both participants may become back-channel messages of the pseudo-answering type.

When he does not know the respective expression the speaker may consider a message of this type an interruption.

The speaker may include in his turn what Yngve calls a *back-back-channel*[32], that is, an answer to the Listener's back-channel message. Ex: "Am ciştigat la loto şi ...", "Nemaipomenit", "îhî, şi..."

The speaker can indirectly ask for back-channel messages from the listener to the extent to which, arranging "slots", he induces in the Listener the obligation of reasserting his conversational commitment.[33]

When the conversation takes place between a native and a non-native user of the language X, the back-channel messages may allow them to make sure not only that they are followed approvingly, attentively, with interest, but also that they *can be followed*, that they are using the language in a way which ensures reciprocal understanding.

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[31] Cf.Yngve (1970), p.574.

[32] Yngve (1970), p. 575.

[33] Cf. Schegloff (1968), p.1092 = "Availability may, in this way, be "chained", and, in fact, speakers with extended things to say, may routinely leave slots open for the other to insert an "uh huh", thereby recalling them to and recommitting them to the continuing course of the activity."

The conventional signals by which the conversationalists make each other aware of their passing over (respectively of receiving) a turn of talk can be vocal, gestural, etc.

Vocal signals are certain types of account,intonation, speech, pause, juncture. We underline the relevance of the research work carried on by Pike (1945) concerning the intonation (expressing deliberation, incomplete sequence, unexpectedness, repudiation) and the tentative or final pauses,the relevance of Trager-Smith's research works (1951) concerning the three types of final junctures and the relevance of Liberman's remarks (1967) on the breathing groups.

The gestural signals relevant in this context (raised eyebrows, expectant look etc.) have been described by Birdwhistel (1952, 1968) and by Goffman (1955).

Yngve (1970) is deliberately dedicated to the analysis of the change of turn signals.

The author has analised 500 video-taped prime conversations between adult subjects coming from The University of Chicago.

Yngve (1970) reaches the conclusion that at the vocal level the type of exaggerated final pause presented by Pike (1945) as characteristic exclusively of orators[35] is normally used by the

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[34] We mean by prime conversations conversations between persons who have never been in any kind of interraction (verbal or non-verbal) before the respective conversation.

[35] Cf.Pike (1945), p.32, apud Yngve (1970), p.569: The difference between tentative and final pause is sometimes heard in an exaggerated form in fiery oratory. With some public speakers, one can know for some time in advance - say three short phrases or more - that the speaker is coming to the end of a paragraph or section of his oration, by the "running down" modifications of his intonation contours as the pitch is let-down before such a final pause".

speaker for signalling the iminent end of the turn.In Yngve's turns (1970) the typical device of passing over the turn is a ritardando and diminuendo effect with lowering of the pitch at the end of a stretch of speech of approximatively paragraph length[36].

In non-neutral conversations and in general when the conversational conditions are unfavorable, the person who has finished the turn may be obliged to explicitely assert this fact or even to explicitely invite the listener to the turn.

During conversations researcher - informant (between Romanian participants) we have often noticed in the final part of the turn, of the type "gata", "eu asta am vrut să spun", "eu atîta am avut de spus", "eu am terminat", (the informant); "poţi să spui", "ascult", etc. (the researcher).

The wish to be given the turn is:

- vocally or gesturally signalled by the Listener and
- is realized by the Listener interrupting the Speaker.

The signalling of the wish to be given the turn, may accompany any part of the turn in process.

An example of gestural signalling with the American Listener is in accordance with Yngve's remarks (1970), "a slight opening of the mouth and intake of the breath, accompanied by a slight tilting of the head.[37]

Interrupting the Speaker may occur only:

- in the critical parts of the ongoing turn, or
- if preceded by a warning made by the Listener towards the speaker.

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[36] Cf.Yngve (1970), p.573.

[37] Cf.Yngve (1970), p.575.

The mentioning of a person's name is an example of a critical part. In this case, interrogative interruptions are admitted "Who is the respective person?", "Does the person in question coincide with the similarly called person known by the Listener?", etc.

In Romanian, pseudoexcuses of the type: "iartă-mă că te intrerup dar tocmai mă gindeam să ...", "scuză-mă dar ...", "nu te supăra că te intrerup ...", are to be interpreted as "from now on I take the turn" warnings.

The Speaker, subject to a signalling of an intention of interruption, may:

- totally pass over the turn
- partially pass over the turn (by addressing the Listener-questions of the type: "vrei să spui ceva", "E ceva în neregulă", "Da?" or invitations of the type: "Spune", "Zi", etc., or
- continue the turn.

In the latter case, the Speaker is obliged to warn the Listener that he intends to continue the turn. The phrases by means of which such a warning is realised are in Romanein "Mai am de spus un singur lucru ...", "Imediat termin", "De fapt (ce) (mai) voiam să spun (sic) este, că ...", "Mai aveam de spus doar".

In non neutral conversations or when conversational conditions are generally unfavorable both participants may happen to take simultaneously the turn of talk (at the beginning of the conversation, after a relatively closed state of talk).

The putting into succession of two simultaneous turns is realised by means of the illocutionary act of reciprocal invitation. In Romanian, in this case, such invitation phrases are:

"Scuzaţi-mă, spuneţi dumneavoastră", "Spuneţi dumneavoastă întîi am să spun şi eu după aceea", etc.; they result in an explicit rearrangement of the Speaker-Listener roles.

The undoing of a state of talk is operated with the help of some illocutionary acts of warning.

At the gestural level, these acts are expressed by a change in the direction of one's look, a change of position etc.

At the verbal level, these acts are expressed by enunciating the sentences which make up the object of the warning act: "Am să plec, (= "Imi pare rău (dar) vă previn că trebuie să plec" etc.).

Such sentences correspond, as one can see, to the preparatory conditions of copresence for a state of talk.

We mean by topic tasks:

- The supplying of a topic of discussion (this task concerns the Initiator,

- The exploration of a topic of discussion till it is relatively exhausted (this taks concerns both the Initiator and the Interlocutor.

By supplying a topic of discussion the Initiator confers to a situation of encounter the character of a situation of verbal encounter. A topic of discussion represents therefore a completion to the real situation accepted by both Initiator and Interlocutor.

An assertion is a topic of discussion if:

- its object is not a tautology

- its object is not a prime sentence[38] for the users of a language X, in other words if its object represents a stable Sentence for the user, a sentence out of the lexicon of sentences concerning the affirmation (negation) of which they share opinions (convictions, beliefs etc.)

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[38] We mean by prime sentence a sentence which has been never before listed in the users' linguistic experience. We refer to sentences and not to the utterances through which these sentences are realized.

The assertion of a tautology relatively undoes a state of talk. In this way the use of tautologic proverbs can be explained[39].

That is why, by convention the assertion of a tautology cannot from the first turn of a conversation.

The Speaker who produces a tautology as the first turn of a conversation is committed with respect to the modification of this convention.

His Listener will have to choose between:

- accepting the questionable character of the respective convention (characteristic turn "De ce spui asta?") or
- not accepting that this conversation should be put under the sign of doubt (characteristic turn: "Şi ce-i cu asta?" or "O fi")

For American English the following sentences are exemples of stable sentences used as a topic of discussion:

1. I am against any restriction on Sunday activities.
2. The best way to combat the drug problem is for the present law to be made even stricter.
3. Most white people sincerely believe that colour people are their equals.
4. Parents should keep a daughter under much closer control than a son.

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[39] Cf.S.Golopenţia-Eretescu (1971).

5. All criminals should be helped rather than punished.

6. No individual is justified in committing suicide.

7. Regardless of sex, there should be equal pay for equal work-

8. It would be a mistake to ignore the possible dangers of even very occasional use of drugs [40].

Gillian Sankoff, in order to study the French spoken in Canada, used in 1970-1971, the following stable sentences:

(1) Les bombes, c'est une bone chose. Ca réveille les gens.
(2) La drogue n'est pas nocive. Elle devrait être légalisée.
(3) Les femmes ne sont pas égales à l'homme.
(4) La mode féminine aujourd'hui est immorale et impudique.
(5) Les manifestations devraient êntre défendues.
(6) Il n'est pas bon que les jeunes aient des relations sexuelles avant le mariage.
(7) Le mariage est une institution désuète. On devrait l'abolir.
(8) Les Canadiens Anglais ont beaucoup plus les sens des affaires que les Canadiens Français.
(9) Les ouvriers abusent du droit de grève. Il devrait y avoir une loi qui limite le droit de grève.
(10) C'est parce que les gens ne pratiquent plus leur religion que les choses vont si mal.
(11) La vie dans une grande ville est insuportable.
(12) Les gens étaient bien plus heureux à la campagne.

In Ionescu-Benamou (1969), the authors suggest to the non-native American users topics of discussion (general or specialised) non-sensical for the French spoken in France:

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[40] Cf.Gouge-Fraser (mss) p.1-2. The authors use them in an attitude statement questionnaire.

(1) Les Français détestent la France.

(2) Le professeur a toujour raison[41].

The exploration of a topic of discussion supposes that both the Initiator and the Interlocutor are aware of the fact that the turns they are producing (receiving) in their position of Speaker (Listener):

- stick to the subject
- determine the progression towards a relative closing of a topic of discussion.

The sets of grammars we distinguish between are the following:

(i) natural grammars

(ii) pseudoartificial grammars

(iii) pseudonatural grammars

(iv) artificial grammars

By natural grammar (N1) we mean the grammar which is internalised by the native user of a natual language as a result of his being exposed to real gathering and encounter situation between the native users of the language.

By pseudoartificial grammar (N2) we mean the (pedagogical, linguistical grammar of a language X learned by its native user in learning gathering (encounter) situation.

By pseudonatural grammar (F1) we mean the grammar internalised by a non-native user of a language X who has been exposed to real gathering and encounter situations between native users of language X.

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[41] Cf. Ionescu-Benamou (1969).

By artificial grammar (F2) we mean the pedagogical (linguistic) grammar of language X learned by its non-native users in learning gathering (encounter) situations.

A user who internalises a natural grammar is an *unsophisticated user*.

A user who was learned a pseudoartificial grammar is a *quasi-sophisticated user*.

A user who internalizes a pseudonatural grammar is a *quasi-unsophisticated user*.

A user who has learned an artificial grammar is a *sophisticated user*.

Pseudoartificial and artificial grammars supply the user with the experience of *grammatical rules*.

Natural and pseudonatural grammar do not supply the user with the experience of grammatical rules.

In relation to the user,

(a) the rules of a pseudoartificial grammar are *fitting rules* and

(b) the rules of an artificial grammar are *guiding rules*[42].

In other words, an unsophisticated user and a pseudo-unsophisticated user do not internalize the concept of *rule*.

A pseudo-sophisticated user internalizes the concept of *fitting rule*.

A sophisticated user internalizes the concept of *guiding rules*.

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[42] For the opposition *fitting rules/guiding rules* see Quine (1972), p.442. "Behaviour *fits* a rule whenever it conforms to it, whenever the rule truly describes the behaviour. But the behaviour is not guided by the rule unless the behaver knows the rule and can state it. This behaver *observes* the rule".

In the case of a single language user, the only possible contrast situation is:

(A) N1 - N2

characteristic of a quasi-sophisticated native user.

In the case of a bilingual the following contrast situations are possible:

(B) N1 - F1,
(C) N1 - F2,
(D) N1 - N2 - F1,
(E) N1 - N2 - F2, and
(F) N1 - N2 - F1 - F2.

IV

The natural grammar of a language is acquired by the user through a set of language games.

We use the term in Wittgenstein's[43] acception.

In most of the cases, the language games imagined by Wittgenstein in The Brown Book have the following format: A expresses to B a convention X according to which, in condition(s) Y, B has to utter (to write, to act) Z. A brings about Y until B reacts Z.

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[43] Cf. Wittgenstein (1965), p.17: "These are ways of using signs simpler than those in which we use the signs of our highly complicated everyday language. Language games are the forms of language with which a child begins to make use of words. The study of language games is the study of primitive forms of language or primitive languages" and, further: "Children are taught their native language by means of such games ... We are not ... regarding the language games which we describe as incomplete parts of a language, but as languages complete in themselves, as complete systems of human communication".

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There are nevertheless several language games in Wittgenstein (1965) in which A brings about Y' (therefore slightly modifies the initial condition) in order to induce in B the reaction Z. These cases are language games through which A stimulates B towards a creative use of language.

It is in the stimulation to play language games in approximate conditions that lies one of the basic features of the linguistic competence (faculté de langage).

The first type of language games, consists of: (a) communicating the conversation and (b) practicing.

It is a closed game.

In the second type of language game, one never communicates all the conventions and never practices. To play this type of game is to create it anew. It is an open game.

We think the second type of language game is the only natural one. A native speaker comes to internalize the natural grammar of his language by playing open language games with his parents, with other children, etc. The use of any word of the natural language can be viewed as an open language game.

The first type corresponds to the artificial language games used when teaching pseudoartificial or artificial grammars by specialized agents: teachers, foreign language teachers, etc. Such artificial language games can be met in textbooks. Examples are dictations, proposition frcmation, verbconjugation, counting, building a narrative paragraph, building a descriptive paragraph, etc.

We are inclined to enlarge the domain of open language games in such a way as to include not only the natural grammar but also the pseudonatural grammar internalization among their effects.

CONCLUSIONS

The main conclusions to the present discussion are:

1. The conversational situation is an intraobservational, *emergent* situation. It is not its description (its extraobservational side) but the establishment of its orientation that matter for the researcher (the conversation - analyst). To deal with conversational orientation we introduced the concepts of *Insider* and *Outsider* conversational *states of mind*.

2. Any situation in which the conversationalists internalize grammars of different natural languages is a contrastive conversational situation.

3. The users who achieve linguistic competence with respect to a natural language by means of *language games proper* (of *open* language games) are to be considered *native users* of that language.

4. Among the possible *native-native*, *native-nonnative*, *non-native-nonnative* types of conversations, the second and the third are contrastive types of conversation. For the time being contrastive analysis can benefit most from the study of the second type which is the *non-neutral* conversation type par excellence and which exhibits differences that remain covert in the third type.

5. The native-nonnative conversation type is definable as *aristic*: the conversationalists are willing *themselves* and the nonnative conversationalist provides the native one with *pseudo-symptoms of conversational competence*.

6. To define the pseudosymptoms of conversational competence with respect to a natural language X one has to resort to

such natural language properties as *orders of vagueness*, *figurative use*, *inclusion of their pragmatic metalanguage*, etc.

7. The instauration of a *state of talk* (of an individual conversation) is achived by the conversationalists according to the following scheme (in which succession corresponds to the ideal order):

Gathering: *copresence*

Nonverbal
encounter: *orientation*

Verbal
encounter: distribution of the *turns*, therefore of the Speaker / Listener / Auditor roles

: adjudgement of the *floor*, therefore of the Initiator / Interlocutor roles

Topic 1

: adjudgement of the *floor*

Topic 2

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8. We did not approach in the present study the *conversations modes*, that is the ways in which Topic 1, Topic 2, ... Topic n can be compounded. We consider as promissing and shall try to discuss in a following study the relevance for a contrastive analysis of conversational strategy of McGuire's definitions of such conversational modes as are the *associative mode*, *the problem-solving mode*, *the interrrogation mode*, *the resolution of misunderstanding mode*.

9. The illocutionary speech acts by means of which the distribution of the turns and the adjugement of the floor are achieved are crucial for conversational strategy.

By formulating for the languages in contrast conversational algorithms consisting of ordered option rules among well-defined sets of speech acts and by comparing them one could achieve a contrastive grammar of conversation.

10. By taking into account the Speaker/Listener/Auditor and the Initiator/Interlocutor role options as well as the Native/Nonnative membership group status one can refine the typology of conversations. 18 types of conversations, impying 18 types of conversational evolution can thus be distinguished.

By undertaking a thorough study of the different types of minimal conversations contrastive analysis will come nearer to a working definition of conversational strategy.

11. The artificial language games aiming at teaching, in an organised frame, a foreign language, are efficient if they "arm" the student with a complete conversational strategy, that is, if they achieve his becoming able to perform, to interpret or to observe in the way "it is done" all the operations that are necessary to the instauration and the felicitous evolution of a state of talk.

This implies, nevertheless, the introduction, in the framework of contrastive analysis of pragmatic semiotic points of view.

12. It is a paradox of foreign language teaching that it prepares the students for ideally natural conversations by exposing them to highly artificialized (linguistically and socially) ones.

APPENDIX

One can appeal to the following parameters in order to compare the cultural conversations which seem to direct the Americans' behavior in a gathering situation with those directing the Romanians' behaviour in a gathering situation:

a) The physical distance between individuals.

Hall (1969) calls it the semiotic manipulation of the space and defines it as the object of study of proxemics.

In accordance with Hall's assertion, indifferent of the nature of the situation, the American tends to get the physical distance between himself and the other individuals within the same gathering at its maximum. Automatically, the individuals are spatially dispersed in busses stops, cinema halls, restaurants, a.s.o. When this is not possible (for instance, when they are in a lift, in the underway metro carriage, generally in an overcrowded space) they resort to a retractile position destined to limit the contact.

We consider that, from this point of view, the options of a Romanian are not as predictable. His manipulation of space is rather controlled by personal criteria (temperament, disposition, a.s.o.) not forming the object of an ad-hoc cultural rule.

b) Facial Gestures. In an American gathering, the social look and the social smile seem to be more frequently represented than in the corresponding Romanian gathering. By social look is meant a special type of filtered, indirect look, suggesting a visual perception at a distance and, therefore, incomplete. By social smile we mean the occasional smile which accompanies quasy compulsorily the crossings between individuals, the entrances in shops, a.s.o.

A Romanian, to the extent to which he mistakes a social look for the absence of the look, in gathering situations with an American, tends to have the impression that the latter "does not even look at him", does not follow him, does not see him, is preoccupied, a.s.o. A Romanian, to the extent to which he mistakes the social smile for an individual smile, in gathering situations with an American, can have the impression that the latter knows him, that they have met before, that in the respective social situation there is a burlesque element a.s.o.

It would be interesting to know if an American in a gathering situation with a Romanian has the feeling that the Romanian looks too fixedly and too familiarly at him or that the Romanian (who uses the social smile to a lesser extent) does not show amiability, a.s.o.

c) Corporal gestures. If, as we have already seen, the American's behavior in a gathering situation seems to have a more conventional character than the corresponding Romanian behavior, in as much as the physical and the facial gestures between individuals, and the corporal gestures are concerned we witness an opposite situation. For a Romanian the position, the acceptable or nonacceptable in a gathering situation form the component of a savoir-vivre made explicit by means of prescriptive rules (one should stand straight, one should sit stiffly, one should not put one's legs on the table, one should not take off one's shoes).

With the Americans, these are directed by the personal preferences of the moment. Hence the impression of being at ease which the American gives a Romanian, and inversely the impression of sobriety which the Romanian products in the mind of an American when they are both in the same gathering.

For comparing the conventions that direct a nonverbal encounter between Americans to those which direct a nonverbal encounter between Romanians, one can resort to the same parameters we have taken into consideration concerning a gathering:

a) The Physical Distance between Individuals. The encounter situation provokes A "physical coming together"[44], it seems to generate "an ecological huddle wherein participants orient to one another and away from those who are present in the situation but not officially in the encounter"[45].

In the case of an American encounter, this reduction of the physical distance between individuals is however counter-acted by the tendency to maintain, in comparison with the partner, a suitable distance, able to impede the tactile, olfactive communication, a.s.o., and to limit the encounter situation to an audio-visual communication. In this situation too we think that we are faced with a dimension that is not controlled by convention in the Romanian encounter.

b) Facial Gestures. The direct look is a compulsory component of an encounter situation, both in the case of the American participant and the Romanian participant.

Details of the following type are to be studied: the reciprocal direct look is simultaneous or alternative (in other words, in a common encounter, the individuals look simultaneously at each other or each one looks at the other when he himself is not looked at). In the former case, we have to do with looks which meet one another, in the latter, this phenomenon would not happen. As a remark which is to be confirmed or infirmed by an ad-hoc observation, we would say that, in an American context, the reciprocal direct look, "eyes that meet", is not practised (it seems even forbidden) in a normal encounter. Such an interdiction does not seem to characterise the context of an encounter between Romanians who evaluate the look "straight into the face", "in the eyes" as a sign of sincereness and of good intentions. Hence the impression of the Romanian, frequently formulated, that the American "does not look in your eyes", that his look is uncertain, fleeting a.s.o. It would be interesting to see in this regard which is the opinion of an American exposed to an encounter with a Romanian.

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[44] Cf.Goffman (1964) in Giglioli (1972), p.64.

[45] Ibidem.

When the participants in the encounter are of different sexes, the problem becomes complicated in both cultures, in as much as the simultaneity of direct looks is differently evaluated.

c) Corporal Gestures. The encounter situation puts to the participants the problem of coordinating their respective positions. It would be interesting to see the extent to which this putting into accord is controlled by convention in both cultures, the quickness with which it takes place, a.s.o.

The American seems to define himself as being in an encounter situation (and to take over, implicitely, the afferent obligations) in cases in which the Romanian does not perceive himself in any social situation or at the most in a gathering situation.

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ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF ADDRESS FORMS

by R. Loring Taylor

The following experiment was conducted: two Romanian students were asked to enter a room from opposite sides and begin a conversation in English. They approached each other, glancing around nervously. Suddenly both of them simultaneously said, "Hello". After a long moment of recoil or stunned silence at this impass , both of them began again in chorus: "How are you?" At this point the "conversation" broke down, as the participants' words ground into each other.

The experiment was a failure, but several important things can be learned from it. In a real conversation there are binding although subtle rules determining the order in which participants speak. Such rules may have either cultural or linguistic determiners. Second, what the participants in this experiment apparently had learned as conversation, consisted largely of initiating phrases rather than response phrases. Third, the expressions used were natural or flat, devoid of any acknowledgement of variation in social role. This flatness of response extended to the tone of voice used by the participants. Both participants employed the phrase how are you? with little or no discernable variation in stress.

In a second experiment, 30 students were asked to write a hypothetical conversation. Many of the above features were noticed, often in exaggerated form. Several of the papers did not appear to be conversations at all. In one case a person replied to the question, how are you ? with three pages of monologue. Among the 30 samples, in only one case was any attempt made to define differences in age or social level by the use of address forms. While both languages contain such mechanisms, for the subjects tested, these mechanisms did not appear to be readily transferable. This observation suggests that such mechanisms may be quite different in kind.

Of particular interest was the fact that in 85 of the cases the initiating and response phrases were identical:

hello	hello
hi	hi
good day	good day
good evening	good evening
good morning	good morning

In American English, such use of these forms is quite rare, but it appears to be common in Romanian. Strangers meeting in an elevator, for example, may fulfill their social obligation to each other by exchanging the same phrase:

bună ziua	bună ziua

In American English, when the same introductory phrase is repeated, in particular with the same intonation pattern, there is a tendency to regard this act as a termination to the conversation, if not an outright insult. It may be more appropriate to respond with an alternative. If the first speaker says "hello" the second speaker might respond with something like, "Hi, how are you?" Such a response to a formal pattern with an informal pattern might well be out of place in Romanian, while the American would be likely to view it as encouragement or a sign of acceptance. Indeed, the first speaker might employ an intonation pattern which suggested that he was looking for such a response.

Address forms appear to be more ceremonial in Romanian that in American English, and each party seems expected to reproduce the entire formula. One group of these formulas can be translated literally:

good morning	bunĂ dimineaţa
good day	bunĂ ziua
good afternoon	
good evening	bunĂ seara
good night	noapte bunĂ

The most frequent of these, *bunĂ ziua*, will lead directly into difficulty. Use of a literal translation of this expression is almost inevitably inappropriate. One finds this expression in specialized circumstances or set phrases as in the Irish

And a good day to you sir.

In conventional American English the phrase amounts to a parody of formality, while in much British English the phrase functions as a curt dismissal. However the role of *good day* as a dismissal is not as isolated a phenomenon as it may appear. A distinctive feature of all these expression (particularly in British English) is that they can all function, like *good night*, as the conclusion to a conversation. Use of a closing stress pattern can thus turn any introductory forms into dismissals. This is why repetition of these introductory devices may be so tricky in English. In initial position these phrases will have a rising intonation which may be slightly exaggerated in particular circumstances. This rising pattern functions by analogy with a question - it is a request for a response. To reproduce the request intonation pattern may have the effect of neutralising the response. If exaggerated features of the request intonation are reproduced, the effect becomes mocking, although this may become a shared mocking of the situation. If the closing pattern is introduced, the effect can become a dismissal. The delicacy of this mechanism has led to the desirability of answering the request intonation by advancing to a further level of commitment. The speaker of Romanian is likely to be insensitive to the role of stress in these expressions.

The distribution of hello may also provide difficulty for Romanians. The Romanian word is analogous to its English equivalent only as an opening gambit on the telephone, although to the English ear the Romanian Allo sounds like an impatient dismissal. Beyond this point analogies break down completely. There is apparently no Romanian word with an equivalent distribution. It is quite shocking to the English ear to hear the word hello used at the end of a conversation instead of good bye or some equivalent. Yet there are various Romanian greetings, like the increasingly popular servus, which may function equally well at the beginning and at the end of a conversation.

The sample conversations using the word hello used the word as an independent initial greeting functioning by analogy with bună ziua.

hello hello

But in fact the word is not commonly used in English in this way.

The distribution of the term is selective to the point of being idiomatic. The word may function as a response to an introduction:

Mr. Jones, I would like you to meet Mr. Smith.

In this context Mr. Jones may say interchangeably,

Hello

How d'you do?

Pleased to meet you.

The stress pattern on these phrases will indicate response to the introduction rather than a pure initiation of conversation. Use of hello in this context is formally correct but may appear ungracious since it implies no particular acknowledgement of the other person. Since it is the most neutral response it is in one sense the most formal, but it does not function as a compliment, in the way the choice of a more formal form might in Romanian. To describe this difference, one needs a different axis of classification of such responses - instead of formal to informal one could call this axis increasing particularity of response. Such particularity of response may move in the direction of either increasing or decreasing formality.

Incidentally, in the context of such an introduction, the Romanian may identify himself by stating or repeating his own name, which would probably not be done in English. It is presumed that the person making the introduction has full control over the names of the parties introduced. Since in fact this is often not the case, the Romanian custom would save considerable embarrassment.

A second use of hello does not seem to have an exact equivalent in Romanian. The word may function as an attention getting device suitable for establishing a context in which a further statement immediately follows. A speaker might say, Hello, may name is X and I was wondering

or, more informally,

Hi, my name is X . . .

Apparent Romanian equivalents of varying levels of formality do not appear to function in this way. Such terms as *sărut mîna*, *servus*, *salut* or *bună ziua* do not initiate a context -they acknowledge a context. One is exchanging a salute among acquaintances or wishing someone a certain condition. It would be impolite not to return this wish or salutation. For this reason one would be unlikely to find people saying, as a continuous utterance,

bună ziua	mă numesc
salut	mă cheamă
săru(t) mîna	Eu sint

Perhaps the closest Romanian equivalent to this use of the term is actually a rather remote analogy. If one interrupts a stranger on the street, one may say,

nu vă supărați, unde este Hotel Carpați;

In such a context, it would be meaningless to wait for a response to the expression, *nu vă supărați*. The purpose of the device is to establish a context in which it is possible to say the following words. This use of the word *hello* has the same sort of sense.

Vocabulary in Context, by Franklin, Meikle and Strain, (Ann Arbor, 1964) gives a standard classification of introductory phrases:

Hello	informal
Hi	very informal

one could add:

Howdy	colloquial and very informal

However such a classification may tell one very little about the distribution of these terms. Within its distribution, *hello* may be informal, but in most of the instances in which Romanians use the word, it has the effect of sounding abrupt and excessively formal, even though their intention is to use it as an informal greeting. It is unlikely that the word would be used as a salute between acquaintances. Such use would be likely to be regarded as a dismissal or an attempt to establish distance because it would have the effect of returning the meeting to the context or status of an introduction. This characteristic of *hello* is indicated by a variety of comic routines which portray a nervous or socially inept person saying *hello* out of context or with an inappropriate intonation pattern. On occasions in which *hello* is used as an opener, it is likely to be preceded by some other utterance. For example, if one were very surprised to see someone, or close friends were to meet after an extended absence, the following pattern might be employed:

well hello stranger,

Some such playfully ritualistic re-enactment of an introduction could serve as the basis of re-establishing the acquaintanceship.

In Vocabulary in Context, *hi* is listed as extremely informal; however it is very common, particularly in American English. In contrast to the particular idiomatic uses of *hello*, *hi* functions as a salute among acquaintances. Romanian is very rich in such salutes, which define a variety of status relationships.

Bună
Salut
Ceau
Servus

Vă salut

Să trăiţi

Săru(t) mîna

The variety of *you* forms in Romanian also contribute status distinctions. For the Romanian accustomed to the variety and precision of such forms, the word *hi* is likely to sound stark and excessively informal. Even such a term as *servus*, used among equals has a ritualistic quality that *hi* seems to lack. *Servus* may be a quite formal expression of intimacy, initiated by drinking a toast. The secret in using *hi* is that it is rarely used by itself as such a ritualistic exchange. It is usually part of more extended expressions, as:

Hi Bill, how're you doing?

The use of the name is particularly important, since it is through the use of the name that the status relationship can be defined. Thus the expression

Hi Mr.Jones

can be used by a young person to an older man as an expression of respect. In the Southern United States *Hi* is very frequently used in such patterns as,

Well hi, y'all. or Hi, how y'all.

Such expressions are a curious balance between formality and informality, with the plural or polite form *y'all* functioning to maintain a measure of social distance. Such expressions may be used to cover a wide range of circumstances, from addressing individuals with whom one is on intimate terms to addressing large gatherings such as political conventions.

There are also distributional peculiarities with such a term as *howdy*, which textbooks would consider an extremely informal dialect form. But this word may also be used with a formal address tag, such as,

Howdy Mr.Jones. or Howdy m'am.

However the important feature of howdy is that it has a strong initial stress which makes it seem appropriate as an opener. The expression is suitable for a radio announcer introducing a program or an advertisment:

Howday folks, this is yer friendly ...

In this sort of context the word has achieved a currency which may transcend the limitations of dialect.

The next problem which leads to difficulty with introductory phrases in English is the great importance of stress. For example, the phrase how are you? may have three different stress patterns.

1. how are ˈyou?
2. ˈhow are you?
3. how ˈare you ?

The stressed word indicates the primary distinction sought by the questioner. These are essentially three completely different questions in that the expected answer may differ in each case.

(1) indicates a distinction of person - perhaps a response to (3) or a question addressed to a second person entering a room.

(2) is likely to ask for a comparison with some previous state.

Thus if a person were to question (1) with "I'm much better thank you," the questioner might be quite confused. This feature of adjusting the stress on a detached you is not available to the Romanian *ce faci*? or *ce faceti*?

Thus the Romanian may not hear the difference between these questions and may give an inappropriate response.

Romanian and English, however, share the feature that it is considered desirable to be creative in the selection of verbal synonyms idiomatic equivalents for the main verb of this expression.

how've you been?	
how are you doing?	ce mai faci?
how are you keeping	
how's it going?	cum o mai duci?
how's it hanging?	cum mai merge?
what's up?	cum îţi mai merge?
what's new?	ce-i nou (sub soare)?
what's doing?	
how goes it?	
what do you say?	ce mai zici?
what you been up to?	

With a little effort one could probably find hundreds of idiomatic or dialect forms of essentially the same question. The more exotic or idiomatic forms of this question tend to be ritualistic in English and do not permit or exploit the flexibility of stress that is found in the common form, "How are you?". Thus it may be easier for Romanians to learn the correct usage of the more highly idiomatic forms which correspond to the ritualistic usages with which they are familiar.

In Romanian the tendency is to choose the correct address form from a variety of lexical and syntactic alternatives. In

English the tendency is to begin with a neutral form and narrow the status possibilities through the use of such devices as stress and personal names. In the language of many Americans this tendency may be heightened to the point where address forms become vestigial or disappear. In Romanian, address forms appear highly evolved in the direction of defining a person's status. It is a mark of politeness to acknowledge this status. In American English the goal of politeness is to acknowledge the person. For people who have been separated or for people who are now intimately acquainted, this may take the form of moving as rapidly as possible to the context in which they were previously associated. Thus politeness may be defined by avoiding what may be considered the impersonality of address forms and moving into the conversation. For example, a conversation between two students may begin as follows:

> John, you're looking terrible. Didn't you
> finish your paper?

For a Romanian, beginning a conversation in this way would be likely to appear abrupt, but for an American it would be quite natural. On the other hand, an American learning Romanian is likely to find difficulty categorising people in such a way that he can rapidly choose the appropriate form of address.

OVERSTATEMENT, UNDERSTATEMENT AND CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

by Edith Iarovici

In *A Sheaf*, John Galsworthy says: "The Englishman is essentially inexpressive, unexpressed. - Nothing is wasted in expression, style. - To admit enthusiasm is 'bad form'. - Feelings are not shown, sentiments not expressed, and extremes laughed at".[1]

Galsworthy further refers to the Englishman's "habit of minimising the expression of everything". Like many other people - both English and non-English -, the great writer exaggerates and generalises what was actually, but is no longer to the same extent, a well-marked tendency of certain social classes and groups towards understatement.

In fact, we notice that in colloquial English one may hear the speakers resorting more and more frequently to overstatement. As W.J.Bell says in *Understatement and Overstatement in English* [2], "The housewife who returns weary and footsore from a shopping expedition will complain that 'her feet are killing her', that 'she waited hours for a bus', and that she is 'dying for a cup of tea'.

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[1] Quoted by Walther Asselino in *Grundzüge der englishen Sprache und Wesensart*, Halle, 1954, p.85.

[2] *English Language Teaching*, no.3, 1970.

She may have a 'splitting headache' from the noise of traffic that was 'driving her mad'.

She may complain that 'she looks like a scarecrow' on account of the wind which has been 'blowing her hair about".

One often comes across such exclamations as "You could have knocked me down with a feather" - for expressing amazement - or "I could have killed him!" - used for voicing anger or just annoyance.

Referring to everyday speech, Byron wrote:

"When people say 'I've told you fifty times'
They mean to scold and very often do".

Here he is not using poetic, but linguistic hyperbole.

The same holds good for "It's absolutely maddening", "You'll be the death of me", "I haven't seen you for ages", "I'd give the world to know that," "A thousand thanks," "A thousand pardons," "I'll never forgive myself for that," "I was scared/bored to death".

Such cases of overstatement occur frequently in Romanian, in quite similar forms: 'MĂ dor picioarele de mor!' 'Am aşteptat ore întregi autobuzul', 'Mor sĂ beau un ceai', 'Îmi plesneşte capul', 'MĂ înnebuneşte circulaţia', 'Arăt ca o sperietoare', 'Îmi venea sĂ-l omor', 'Ti-am spus-o de cincizeci de ori', 'Turbam de necaz', 'Nu te-am văzut de o veşnicie", 'Aş da orice pe lume ca sĂ aflu', 'Mii de mulţumiri', 'N-am sĂ mi-o iert niciodatĂ', 'Eram speriat /plictisit de moarte'.

In colloquial speech, overstatement is often expressed by intensifiers like *awfully*, *dreadfully*, *frightfully*, *terribly*, *marvelously*, *tremendously*, *wonderfully*.

Thus, in *The White Monkey*, by John Galsworthy, we come across the following passage:

"How is Fleur?" said Michael's neighbour.

"Thanks, *awfully* well."

"Do you like your house?"

"Oh, *fearfully*. Won't you come and see it?"

"I don't know whether Fleur would - ?"

"Why not? ... She is *frightfully* accessible."[3]

Such intensifiers were at first used hyperbolically, but soon became trite and inexpressive, at the same time losing their denotative meaning almost completely in this kind of situation, on account of their strong connotative emotional character, which - incidentally - also fades out. That is why we come across former oxymorons which have become vaguely contradictory clichés *awfully glad/nice*, *frightfully good*, *terribly important*, *enormously small*, etc.

The corresponding adjectives may likewise be used as intensifiers and, as Stephen Ullmann says, referring to *awful*, *dreadful*, *frightful*, *terrific*, *tremendous*, *abysmal*, *bottomless*, *deadly*, and many more, "their meaning has been completely cancelled out by their emotional tone: to speak of a 'terrific' success, a 'tremendous' welcome, or of something 'awfully' funny, is really a contradiction in terms."[4]

We find similar highly colloquial expressions in Romanian, some of them being even more striking than the English ones, for instance, those quoted by J.Byck in: *amar de multă vreme*, *o groază de bani*, *o grozăvie de femeie*, *mînie de oaste*, *a frumos rău*, *al dracului de frumos*, *frumoasă nevoie mare*, *niste mere grozav de bune*, *strasnic de bogat*, *frumoasă foc*, etc.[5]

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[3] Leipzig, 1924, p.140.

[4] *Semantics, An Introduction to the Science of Meaning*, Oxford 1967, p.137.

As I.V.Arnold rightly points out, "very little is known so far about limitations imposed upon the combining possibilities of intensifiers. It is for instance quite usual to say *stark naked* or *stark mad*, where *stark means* 'wholly', but not *stark* deaf: we say *stone* deaf instead. The fact is very little studied from the synchronic point of view. Compare also the fixed character of such combinations as *flat denial*, *sheer nonsense*, *paramount importance*, *dead tired*, *bored stiff*. All such purely linguistic constraints concerning the valency of words are of great theoretical interest"[6].

The Romanian combinations of this type are highly interesting, too. Some of them are based on the same kind of associations as the English ones, e.g. *sheer nonsense - prostie curată*, *dead tired - obosit mort*, *dead drunk - beat mort*, *by sheer chance - dintr-o pură întîmplare*.

Others are quite different, e.g. *stark naked - gol - goluț/ gol-pușcă*; *stark mad - nebun de-a binelea/ de legat*; *stone deaf - surd-tun* etc.

The numerous cases of overstatement which have been discussed so far entitle us to infer that nowadays, among English people who are not inhibited by their education and background, by the idea that it is not "gentlemanlike" or "ladylike" to express their emotions, that it is, ideed, "bad form" to do so, most of the speakers use overstatement more frequently and understatement less frequently than they did in the past.

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[5] "*Désagréable" comme moyen de reforcement"* (Bulletin Linguistique, V, 1937, pp.42-55).

[6] *The English Word*, Moscow, 1966, p.271.

We should also bear in mind the fact that Americans are even more inclined than Englishmen to resort to overstatement - for example by means of hyperbolic words like *fantastic*, *colossal*, *fabulous*, *crazy*, *emphatically*, *glaringly*, etc., and - in substandard speech - *mighty* (as in *mighty glad*) and *real* (as in *real nice*)

They often use the prefix *super-*, especially in advertising, e.g. *superproduction*, *supermarket*, *supergangster*, *supercolossal*, *superperfect*, *super-super*, and many others. One of the most striking is *superette*, designating a small supermarket.

Americans also have a special liking for what A.H.Marckwardt calls "high-sounding, mouth-filling words" like *to hornswoggle*, *hunkydory*, *rambunctious*, *scallawag*. Such words, which are generally traced back to the "tall talk" of the "tall tale", still occur in substandard speech, especially in slang, but not only there.[7]

Thomas Pyles[8] quotes *Time* magazine (March 6,1950) making reference to "The Treasury of the Vehement, Sonorous and Shamelessly Corny Phrasing which is the Tribal Language of U.S. Politics", and illustrating this idea by means of the bombastic way in which a Congressman characterised a bill he disapproved of, saying it had been "conceived in iniquity and nurtured with the milk of corruption."[8]

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[7] See *American English*, New York, 1958, pp.98-100.

[8] *Words and Ways of American English*, New York, 1952, p.131.

Thomas Pyles also mentions the "gobbledegook" of bureaucracy and the "fancy lingoes" of psychiatry, pedagogy, welfare and big business[9].

Besides, H.W.Horwill, in the Preface to his *Dictionary of Modern American Usage*, points to what he calls "the marked preference of American taste for the grandiloquent". He gives examples like *automobile* for *car*, *chiropodist's knife* for *corn-knife*, *commutation-ticket* for *season-ticket*, *cuspidor* for *spittoon*, *elevator* for *lift*, *faucet* for *tap*, *intermission* for *break*, *locomotive* for *engine*, and many others.

We may therefore safely say that overstatement occurs quite frequently in the English language, especially in American English. With the exception of some of its American types, it is not difficult to render in Romanian, where it has perfect equivalents.

However, understatement is far more interesting from the point of view of contrastive analysis, because Romanians seem to be less prone to it.

x

x x

Understatement is generally resorted to owing to emotion, to embarrassment, or to anxiety. It may also be due to the wish not to hurt somebody's feelings. On the other hand, it may even be aimed at emphasis.

No matter what its causes and purposes are, understatement can be expressed by various linguistic means, which have to be taken into account and studied carefully by Romanian learners of English.

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[9] *Op.cit.*,p.159.

A frequent form of understatement is euphemism.

In a number of stituations, euphemism occurs in both English and Romanian, for instance in connection with death, madness, drunkenness, certain physiological processes, sex life. To give only a few examples, we might mention the deceased -răposatul, to pass away - a-şi da duhul, to make away with somebody - a face felul cuiva, deranged - alienat mintal, merry - vesel, (with the meaning of "drunk"), intoxication - stare de ebrietate; toilet, W.C., American rest room, bathroom, powder room - toaletă, etc.

But there are also situations in which 19th century prudery and squeamishness have left certain traces in 20th century British and - especially - American English. Thus, the word cock has been replaced by rooster in the United States. As late as 1933, the Los Angeles Time wrote sow-bosom instead of sow-belly and the Iowa Farmers' Union passed a resolution condemning "the scheme to raise livestock prices by slaughtering enceinte sows."

However, now that pornographic books, magazines and films have invaded the Western market, prudery has disappeared almost completely and most people are no longer squeamish in their behaviour and speech, and they generally call things by their names.

Various unpleasant social, economic, and political realities are toned down in the United States by words and phrases like deppression, recession, the underprivileged ("the poor"), intellectually underprivileged ("stupid"), bad man ("bandit"), psychopathic personality ("madman"), senior citizens ("old people").

We notice the same tendency in Britain, but perhaps not quite to the same extent. In The Complete Plain Words, Sir Ernest Gowers says that "a vague word may be preferred to a precise one, because the vague is less alarming". He illustrates this idea by means of the word emergency and adds: "a kindred device is to change names that have acquired unpleasant associations. Thus distressed areas were changed to special areas, and schools for the backward and troublesome are now special schools. There are indeed no backward and troublesome children nowadays; as the Times has observed, those who used to be called the stupid, the unhappy, and the strange are now the educationally subnormal, the mal-adjusted and the mentally abnormal. The poor have become the lower income brackets; criminal lunatics are now Broadmoor patients, and ratcatchers rodent operators."[10]

There are also highly conventional euphemisms like those used in Parliament. In The Silver Spoon, Galsworthy says:"In private, I should merely call him a liar. In the Press you should use the words: 'reckless disregard for truth' and in Parliament - that you regret he 'should have been so misinformed".

In his article In Commons, a Lie is Inexactitude[11], James Feron wrote: "When Sir Winston Churchill, some years ago, termed a parliamentary opponent a 'purveyor of terminological inexactitudes', every one in the chamber knew he meant 'liar'. Sir Winston had been ordered by the Speaker to withdraw a stronger epithet. So, he used the euphemism which became famous and is still used in the Commons. It conveyed the insult without sounding offensive, and it satisfied the Speaker". James Feron also mentions *traitor*, *coward*, *jackass*, *dog*, *rat*, *swine*, among the banned words and *halfwit*, *Tory clot*, *goose*, among the acceptable ones.

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[10] Baltimore, 1954, p.76.

[11] The New York Times, 1964.

In the United States there are a large number of pompous euphemistic names for humble, uninteresting trades and occupations like *canine control officer* for *dog-catcher*, *sanitary engineer* for *garbageman*, *landscape architect* for *gardener*, *private investigator* for detective, and many others quoted by H.L.Mencken, A.H.Marckwardt, Th.Pyles, etc. Here are a few more, which I collected during my recent visit to the States: *shoe rebuilder*, *Car Care Center*, *Auto Clinic*, *Doll Hospital*, *Hair stylist*, *Canine Styles*, etc.

Such cases are more complex than those arising from various taboos, which - as has already been pointed out - are more or less the same in English and Romanian.

When a euphemism is used in English in order not to hurt people's feelings, it generally has an equivalent in Romanian, e.g. *underprivileged* - *lipsit de mijloace*, *intellectually underprivileged*- *debil mintal*, *special schools* - *scoli speciale*, *senior citizens* - *oameni în vîrstă*.

When a euphemism is resorted to for toning down an unpleasant reality that is not characteristic of Romania , it is not rendered by a euphemism, but just named in a straightforward manner, (e.g. *drug-addict* - *toxicoman*, *bad man* - *bandit*) or borrowed from English (e.g. *recession* - *recesiune*).

As for occupational euphemisms, one is struck at the absence of Romanian equivalents of such coinages as *beauty parlor* or *beauty shop*; an interesting explanation could be probably given

from a socio-linguistic point of view (the presence or lack of competition might be an important *factor*).
Nevertheless, we do come across a few cases like *reconditionat* (e.g. *haine reconditionate*, instead of *haine vechi*, for *second-hand* clothes), *ingrijitoare* - *caretaker*, etc.

Incidentally, these trade and occupational euphemisms belong, as a matter of fact, to overstatement rather than to understatement, for they hide an unpleasant reality under the mask of a pompous name which is actually a sort of hyperbole.

Another form of understatement is litotes. Thus, "The play is not bad" or "is far from bad", or "is not half bad" actually means "the play is quite good" and may be rendered in the same way in Romanian: "Piesa nu e rea", which is fact means: "Piesa e bună". "That problem is not easy" fully corresponds to "Problema aceea nu este (de loc) ușoară ". Both the English "You are not right" and the Romanian "N-ai dreptate" actually express the idea of being wrong.

Litotes may sometimes border on overstatement, for instance in a critic's report, in *The Daily Telegraph*, of a jazz concert: "Brubeck, who is not entirely without musical ability, lacks the essential creative wherewithal to lay down really spontaneous and stimulating jazz".[12] The words "not entirely without musical ability" are clearly meant to be patronising, derogatory, offensive.

Sir Ernest Gowers refers to what he calls "the *not-un-* device", saying that it is "useful in its place". He adds: "There are occasions when a writer's meaning may be conveyed more exactly

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[12] Quoted by J.W.Ball, *op.cit*.

by (say) *not unkindly*, *not unnaturally* or *not unjustifiably*, than by *kindly*, *naturally* or *justifiably*. But the 'not-un' habit is liable to take charge, with disastrous effects, making the victim forget all straightforward adjectives and adverbs".
He further says that "George Orwell recommended that we should all inoculate ourselves against the disease by memorising this sentence: 'a not unblack dog was chasing a not unsmall rabbit across a not ungreen field'"[13].

Litotes occurs less frequently in Romanian, where it never goes to the extremes it may reach in English, and that is why it is sometimes difficult to render, for instance in "He was *not without* taste" - "Era un om de gust". The solution "Nu era un om lipsit de gust" might be slightly misleading and stilted. The sentence "He's *not half* good enough for you" has to be rendered by "Nu te merită *deloc/ nici pe departe*". "He was *not unlike* his father" can be translated only by "Seamănă *mult* cu tatăl lui". "I am *not unaware* of what happened" corresponds to "Stiu *foarte bine/prea bine* ce s-a întîmplat". The sentence "It's *no good* trying" does not mean "Nu e bine să încerci", but "Nu folosește *la nimic* să încerci".

In literature, litotes is sometimes difficult to understand, even misleading for those Romanians whose command of English is poor. Besides, it often makes the translator's task a very hard one.

Thus, when Dickens writes "He went to work in this preparatory lesson, not unlike Morgiana in the Forty Thieves ...", the best equivalents are "*Precum* Morgiana", "*la fel* cu Morgiana", "ca şi Morgiana".

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[13] Op.cit., p.76.

Thackeray's sentence "I should *not* be *disinclined* to be a major general myself", which is doubly misleading on account of *disinclined*, which might suggest "lipsit de înclinaţii", but actually means "mi-ar place *foarte mult* ..."

In his *History of England*, Macaulay writes: "With many struggles and misgivings, and probably *not without* many prayers, the decision was made", the opposition between *many* in the fist part of the sentence and *not without many* in the second part emphasizes the litotes and shows clearly that the meaning is "*cu foarte multe* rugăciuni".

In the same way, in *The Taipan*, W.S.Maugham associates *most* and *not the least* in: "He was number one in *not the least* important branch of *the most* important firm in China."

Phrases like *a bit(of)*, *a spot(of)* are widely used in colloquial English for expressing understatement. W.J.Ball refers to a letter sent by the commander of a British ship reporting about a hard battle waged by his men in 1939, "I learnt this lesson - though it's a difficult one to put into words - that one can wish for nothing better than these troops of ours. They may be a bit of a nuisance in the easy times of peace, but one can't improve on them when things get a bit hot. A spot of trouble of this sort completely changes one's attitude to the troops. I felt proud of my fellow countrymen".

A bit of a nuisance, *a bit hot*, *a spot of trouble* are not easy to render in Romanian. *Ne cam dau de furcă* would be a good equivalent for *a bit of a nuisance*. *Se incurcă iţele* would be a better solution than *se complică lucrurile* for *things get a bit* *hot*. As for a *spot of trouble*, it is quite difficult to translate: *un mic necaz*, *o mică supărare*, would be ridiculous in such a context, because a Romanian is not likely to resort to understatement for describing that kind of situation. He would probably say *o situatie grea* or even *o încercare cumplită*.

Understatement is very frequently expressed by qualifiers like *rather*, *fairly*, *quite*, *pretty*, *well*, *somewhat*, *half*, and others.

Rather, as used in British English, is often misleading for Romanians, because it has a variety of meanings ranging from the restrictive "to some extent" to the colloquial intensive "most certainly". Its Romanian equivalents, as given by L.Leviţchi and A.Bantaş in their English-Romanian Dictionary are the following "1. mai bine/degrabă/curînd/preferabil; 2. mai exact/corect; mai sigur; de fapt; 3. oarecum, întrucîtva, într-o oarecare măsură; destul de ; 4. tare, prea; foarte". Finally, it is interpreted as an interjection meaning: "oho! şi încă cum! straşnic! perfect! grozav!"

Therefore, the difficulty mainly consists in distinguishing between understatement and overstatement.

It is interesting to note that *The Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, by A.S.Hornby, E.V.Gatenby and H.Wakefield lists only the following meanings: "1. more willingly; by preference or choice 2. more truly, accurately, or precisely. 3. in a certain degree or measure; more (so) than not, somewhat. 4.(colloq., often ['ra:'ðə:] in answers) most certainly."

It does not include the fourth meaning to be found in the English-Romanian dictionary: "tare, prea; foarte". It is that very meaning which is actually the result of the frequent use of *rather* as a means of understatement.

Chambers's *Twentieth Century Dictionary* mentions that, colloquially, *rather* may mean "considerably, very much".

The *NED* cautiously refers to *rather*, as "sometimes implying slight excess = rather too".

Most English dictionaries simply ignore the fact that *rather* may actually have the connotations "very, very much, far too, much too". The explanation seems to be that this use of *rather* is comparatively recent and, moreover, it does not occur very often. Both time and frequency of use seem to be necessary for a connotative meaning to turn into a denotative meaning.

In *Gradadverbien im heutigen Englisch*, Gustav Kirchner[14] asserts that nowadays one comes far more frequently across *rather*, used as a noun-intensive than as a noun-restrictive, e.g."you're *rather* an angel" or "he is *rather* a decent chap".

The Romanian equivalents are "eşti un adevărat înger" and "e un tip foarte cumsecade".

Kirchner also mentions the fact that with verbs *rather* has more often a restrictive value, as in "I *rather* think that ..." - "*aş crede că*", "*mă cam gîndesc că*".

Walter Azzalino mentions *rather* as an important means of understatement and illustrates this idea by a number of quotations such as "She writes *rather* too often". ("viel zu oft", in Romanian "mult prea des"),"Is it not *rather* too late ("viel zu spät - reichlich spät" - "mult prea tîrziu") at night to begin any unnecessary conversation?"[15]

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[14] Halle, 1955, p.63.

[15] *Op.cit.*, p.86.

Passing to fairly, we find that The Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English separates the adverb fairly from the adverb of degree fairly. The former is said to mean "1. justly honestly. 2. utterly; completely". The latter is defined as meaning "moderately".

The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English specifies that "there is sometimes doubt" between the sense of "utterly, completely" and that of rather, tolerably.

H.W.Horwill, in his Dictionary of Modern American Usage, points out that "in America fairly is current in the sense of positively, actually, quite". He marks it as one of "those words and usages which seem ... on the way towards being naturalized in England". This impression, which Horwill voiced in 1935, has been fully confirmed in the meantime, i.e. it does occur more and more frequently in British English.

But, according to The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary the meaning "completely, 'clean'; actually, really" appeared in writing as early as 1596, and the meaning "moderately" only in 1805.

It is only by studying a large number of 17th, 18th and 19th century texts that we shall be able to find out if the older meaning went out of use in Britain and was revived by the influence of American English, or if it was preserved all the time, partly toned down to the meaning of "moderately", and then reinforced by American usage.

Irrespective of the correct diachronical explanation, the word fairly is important from the point of view of contrastive analysis, the more so as H.W.Fowler makes the following remark in his *Dictionary of Modern English Usage*: "For the avoidance of ambiguity is should be remembered that *fairly* has the two oddly different senses of *utterly* (*I was fairly beside myself* - Rom. "eram innebunit") & *moderately* (*a fairly good translation* - Rom. "o traducere destul de bună"), and that context does not always make it clear which is meant".

Indeed, the context is quite relevant in the following sentence taken from Thomas Hardy's *The Morning and the Evening of An Eventful Day*", "Upon my life, it *fairly* startled me when the man spoke"! As *to startle* means "give a shock of surprise to; cause to move or jump", it is obvious that in this case *fairly* cannot possibly mean "moderately". But, on the other hand, in a sentence like "Things had gone *fairly* well with him", the qualifier *fairly* may be interpreted either way - in Romanian "Ii mersese *destul* de bine", or "Ii mersese *foarte* bine".

A number of dictionaries tell us that, besides "completely, to the fullest extent/degree" and "really, truly", *quite* means "rather, to a certain extent", but *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles* does not mention this meaning, and Eric Partridge[16] even denies its correctness: "*quite* does not - in good English - mean 'rather', its 2 Standard senses being:

(i) 'completely, wholly, entirely, to the fullest extent', as in 'Haws ... which quite covered the hawthorn bushes' (Jefferies). 'Here have I sat ... quite by myself'; 'quite certain', 'a quite separate question' or 'quite another question (or thing)'; and

(ii) 'actually; truly; positively', as in 'He died quite suddenly', 'She was so perturbed that the felt quite ill'. The exclamatory *quite* (or *quite so!*) ('I agree with you' or 'I heartily approve') is colloquial".

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[16] *Usage and Abusage*, London, 1961, p.265.

The examples given by Partridge have the following equivalents in Romanian: "quite cover" - "acoperă complet", "quite by myself" - "absolut singur", "quite certain", - "sigur de tot", "a quite separate question - "cu totul altă chestiune/o chestiune cu totul separată", "He died quite suddenly" - "a murit subit", "quite ill" - "de-a dreptul bolnavă", "quite (so)!" - "absolut de acord".

Therefore *quite* is never meant to express understatement. On the contrary, it is generally an intensifier, and when it is used in a different way, which Partridge considers non-standard, it has a restrictive value, viz. "to a certain extent".

The adverb *pretty* appears in various dictionaries as meaning only "fairly, moderately" - in Romanian "destul de, cam". But *The Shorter Oxford Dictionary on Historical Principles* lists "to a considerable extent" before "fairly, moderately, tolerably: rather". Therefore, if *pretty* does sometimes stand for "to a considerable extent", this is certainly not a case of understatement.

If we go on examining *well*, *somewhat*, and other similar words that are supposed to be used for expressing understatement, we find the same state of confusion as with *rather*, *fairly*, *quite* and *pretty*, which we have analysed: the various dictionaries do not list exactly the same meanings, and the differences between them concern those very meanings which are connotative rather than denotative. As S.Marcus rightly points out in *Poetica matematică*[17]

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[17] Ed.Academiei R.S.R., Bucureşti, 1970, p.48.

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"the borderline between denotation and connotation is very difficult to establish, there is a continuous migration of the connotative meanings towards the denotative ones".

Therefore, in certain situations, there is no actual understatement and Romanian learners and translators must pay special attention to context, intonation, and stress in such cases.

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x x

In conclusion, overstatement now seems to occur more frequently than understatement in colloquial English, as it does in colloquial Romanian.

It is mainly rendered by the same means in English and Romanian, namely hyperbole and intensifiers. These means are often expressed in a very similar way in the two languages, with the exception of certain American types of overstatement, which constitute a difficulty for Romanian learners.

Understatement is now resorted to less frequently in English- especially in colloquial English - than in the past, but more frequently than in Romanian.

The main means of expressing it are euphemism and litotes, besides certain qualifiers.

Euphemism is similar in the two languages when it is based on taboo.

Certain types of litotes used in English are sometines misleading for Romanian and difficult to render.

Qualifiers of the rather type are ambiguous and confusing, therefore very hard to intrepret.

The various devices for expressing overstatement and understatement are complex, subtle, sometimes ambiguous or conventional, often changeable or even ephemeral. They are frequently linked with intonation.

They are closely connected with a great variety of psychological, social, and linguistic factors.

Romanian teachers of English, textbook authors, lexicographers and translators ought to pay particular attention to overstatement and - especially - to understatement in English, in the context of all their implications.

THE NATURE OF THE PRONOUN AND THE PHENOMENON OF "PRONOMINALIZATION"

by Maria - Manoliu Manea

The phenomenon of "pronominalisation" seems to be one of the most typical cases where not taking into account the results of the traditional and the structuralist approaches would mean increasing the difficulties, uncertainties and zigzaggings in the transformational approach rather than ensuring its syntactic purity. If, in several other cases, the general outline of the transformational model has a degree of adequacy high enough to be accepted, without much correction, as a model for such different languages as English or Romanian, those who have set themselves the task of studying the syntactic behaviour of the pronoun have gradually discovered more or less important inconsistencies between the principles put forth by their predecessors and the particular grammar in question.

Despite their variety, one can notice certain guiding tendencies, each having its advantages and disadvantages.

1. The exclussively transformational approach (or, better said, "transformationalist"). Starting from the first Chomskian model (in Syntactic Structures, 1957), the hypothesis which considers the pronoun solely from the point of view of the "pronominalisation transformation" imposes the restriction of the referen-

tial identity ("coreference"). Robert B.Lees and Edward S.Klima[1], Ronald W.Langacker[2] or John Robert Ross[3] think that the pronominalization transformation is a process in which one or several nominal syntagms from the deep structure are substituted by the personal pronoun in the surface structure.[4] For example, John Robert Ross recognizes that "the most natural definition of pronominalization is deletion under identity"[5]. Later on, Paul M.Postal distinguishes between *asserted coreference* and *inferred coreference*, the former refers to the case when the subject itself denotes an object which is identical with an object previously mentioned (as the coreferent of the pronoun) - e.g. *John is the one who rang the bell*, the latter is the result of inference - e.g. *The boy scratched his real father's only son*, where *boy*, *his*, and *son* are decoded as identical from the point of view of the designatum, through logical deduction.[6]

His interpretation has a tremendous advantage,that is, it unites under a simple syntactic phenomenon a whole series of processes which diminish the redundacy in the discourse, processes which used to be treated separately in traditional syntax, while even the analytical structural grammar united them. We should mention at this point the following phenomenon:

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[1] R.B.Lees & Edward S.Klima, *Rules for English Pronominalization*, "Language" 39, 17-28, 1963.

[2] Ronald W.Langacker, *On Pronominalization and the Chain of Command*, "Modern Studies in English. Readings in Transformational Grammar" edited by David A.Reibel & Sanford A.Shane, Prentice Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1969.

[3] John Robert Ross, *On the Cyclic Nature of English Pronominalization* "To Honour Roman Jakobson", The Hague, Mouton & Co., 1967, II, pp. 1669-1689.

[4] "Pronominalization is the process that replaces one or more no-referential noun phrase in the deep structure of a sentence with the corresponding personal pronouns in the surface structure" (Modern Studies in English ... cit.", p.143).

[5] John Robert Ross, *Constraints on Variables in Syntax*, 1967, par. 5.3.1, p.193.

[6] Paul M.Postal, *A Global Constraint on Pronominalization*, "Linquistic Inquiry", III, 1972, 1°, p.37, note 5.

a) deletion or substitution (replacement) of categorial symbols on the basis of identity between the designatum and another category symbol, irrespective of the nature of the dominant node: (a') N>NP: Jeanne chante et dance which comes, according to Transformational grammar, from coordinate structure Jeanne chante et Janne dance; (a") Adj>VP: Jean est sage, son frère l'est moin <Jean est sage mais son frère est moins sage;(a"') V>VP Jean pleure et Jeanne fait la même chose Jean pleure et Jeanne pleure; (a"") D>NP Mary's room and John's room; etc.

The similarity between these phenomena, between ellipsis in general, and the pronoun, is not the exclusive discovery of T. grammar. Ten years ago, B.Pottier divided the substitutes into pronouns, pro-adjectives, pro-verbs, pro-adverbs, according to the morphological nature of the substitutes[7]. At about the same time Zellig S.Harris was speaking about "promorphemes"[8], considering ellipsis among the phenomena of substitution under the name of promorpheme "zero". Gerard Moignet as well as Jean Dubois[9] mention the reduction of the longer syntagms to shorter ones ("basic syntagms.

b) contrary to a widely accepted information theory of redundancy, i.e. the deletion of a unit because of its identity of information with a previous one, in T.grammar redundancy is no longer viewed in the linear order of succession for it admits of "anticipatory" deletion "backward pronominalisation",according to J.Robert Ross' term[10]: *If he feels good, John will go to the movies*.

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[7] Bernard Pottier, Systématique des éléments de relation, Paris, 1962, pp.75-80.

[8] Zellig S.Harris, Co-occurrance and Transformation in Linguistic Structure "Language" 33/1957, par.2.6.1.

[9] Jean Dubois, Grammaire structurale du francais: nom et pronom, Larousse, Paris, 1965, p.91-96.

The analytical structural grammar has also pointed out the "anticipatory function" of the pronoun, as in *La grammaire structurale du français par Jean Dubois*[11].

The exclusively transformational approach also has some disadvantages: It seems to me that this criticism is true of formulations, not of an approach;KLR "For a more up-to-date transformational "approach", consider the famous Back-Peters sentence" *The pilot that shot at it hit the plane that chased him*" and the theory of "Pronouns by replacement" would have an infinity of "deep-structures to account for this sentence.The most lucid theory which could handle this seems to be Lauri Karthunen's.

A) Adopting it, one can't explain the appearance of pronouns in the surface structure in the case of noncoreference (when the antecedent does not have the same designatum as the pronoun).

Between the group of objects denoted by the substitute, say O, and the group of objects denoted by the element which calls forth the phenomenon of substitution (pronominalisation), say SO, there are according to group theory, three types of relations:

a) reciprocal inclusion, identity: $O \overset{\subset}{\supset} SO$; it's the case of the personal pronouns (including the reflexive and possessive pronouns and, in specifiable contexts, the demonstrative pronouns, the pre-adjectives, the pre-verbs, the pre-adverbs, as well as the pro-phrases.

-[10] *Constraints on Variables in Syntax ... cit.*, par.5.1.3.5.

[11] Op.cit., p.91 et suiv.

b) inclusion: $O \subset SO$ but $SO \subset O$ it is the case of the demonstrative pronouns. (cf.Rom. *Mi s-a părut că am cumpărat căpsuni frumoase dar cînd am ajuns acasă am văzut că cele de la fund erau strivite)* and of the quantitative partitive pronouns (cf.Engl. *one of her dresses is really beautiful*, Rom. *unele dintre rochiile ei sînt cu adevărat frumoase*).

c) exclusion: $O \not\subset SO$ and $SO \not\subset O$ - nonidentity: it is the case of demonstrative pronouns (cf. Rom. *fiica lui Ion și cea a lui Vasile*, Fr. *la fille de Jean et celle de George*[12], as well as the quantitative pronouns (cf. Fr. *il a acheté une chemise blanche et une autre bleu*, cf.Rom. *și-a cumpărat o cămașă albă și alta (una) albastră*, see also *Georges bat sa femme et Jaques fait la même chose*, where it is more probable that each beats his own wife[13]. On these last cases it is a matter of *identity between classes of objects* and, consequently, the identity established between *lexical items* and not between the objects at issue.

An interesting case of redundancy reduction based on the identity between lexical items has been pointed out by George Lakoff[14] particulary the possibility of suppressing the redundancy when the substituted unit is represented by an item which is found under the shape of a basic morpheme in the coreferent of the substitute, in other words, the coreferent is derived from the word which triggers the transformation of pronominalization: *Mc Carthi-*

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[12] Fore more details see our work: *Sistematica substitutelor din româna contemporană standard*, Ed.Academiei R.S.România,Bucharest 1968.

[13] Voir John Grinder & Paul M.Postal, *Missing Antecedents*, "Linguistic Inquiry", II, 1971, 3, pp.269-312.

[14] George Lakoff, *A Note on Anaphoric Islands and Causatives*, "Linguistic Inquiry" III, 1972, 10 pp.121-125.

tes are sad, because they voted for him and he lost (7) derived from *Mc Carthites are sad because they voted for Mc Carthy and Mc Carthy lost*.

B) If we admit of the fact that pronominalization surpasses the frame of coreference and that all cases of redundancy suppression are based on identity between lexical items (see also J.R. Ross op.cit. 5.13.5), the limit between the substituted item and presupposition disappears.

Let us consider now a fragment from the novel *Nicoară Potcoavă* by Mihail Sadoveanu[15]:

"I s-au închinat, Nicoară i-a luat de după umeri,ducîndu-i cu el în odaia cu sofa şi jilţuri; pe pereţi erau întinse scorturi; la răsărit, candelă şi icoane (...). Lîngă uşă dormita pe speteaza lui un soim slobod. A venit diacul Radu şi l-a luat purtîndu-l pe braţul drept. (Engl. They bowed. Nicoară took them by the shoulders and showed them into a room with a sofa and armchairs. There were rugs on the walls; in the eastern corner, a votive light and icons (...) By the door on its back, a free hawk was dozing. The 'diac' Radu came and took him/it carrying him/it on his right arm".

If each sentence is considered independently,we find that in order to understand the text,one has to remarke the sequence,so that besides the pronouns which have to be replaced by the substituded nouns, one must equally introduce the sequences which are supposed to have been suppressed. If one hears the sequence 'carrying him on his right arm', several questions may arise:

(1) Who carries him? Admitting that the answer is 'diac Radu', then a new question arises:

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[15] Mihail Sadoveanu, *Nicoară Potcoavă*, Bucarest, 1952.

(2) Who is 'diac' Radu ? The answer is, in this instance, supplied only by the preceding sequences, where this character is introduced;

(3) What does he carry? The answer is, in this instance supplied on the base of the information given previously: the free hawk; Again a new question arises;

(4) What free hawk are they speaking about? It can be answered by reference to the determination contained in the previous sentence: The free hawk which was dozing on the back of the chair in the room where Nicoară had entered with the boyards. But a couple of other questions can equally arise:

(5) Where was the hawk dozing? 5th answer: in the room.

(6) What room? The room where Nicoară and the boyards entered.

(7) Who is Nicoară?

(8) Who are the boyards? and so on.

The result would thus be a kind of subjacent mammouth structure which includes all the previously furnished information which has been suppressed the moment the assertion has been made (carrying him on his right arm ("Diacul Radu, sfetnicul de încredere al voivodului Nicoară" - "the private counsellor of the prince N.") îl purta "was carrying him/it" în acel moment "that very moment", pe braţul drept on the right hand" (al Diacului Radu, "who was one and the same man as the man who was carrying the hawk", un goim slobod pe care Diacul Radu l-a luat de pe speteaza unui scaun "a free hawk that the 'diac' Radu had taken from the back of the chair" din camera în care intrase "from the room where he had entered" în momentul n-1, N.P., Voevodul care lupta pentru răzbunarea fratelui său Ion Vodă ... "the Prince who was revenging his brother Ion Vodă ...").

All explanation between brackets is based on the information previously furnished. We cannot explain the suppression of the phenomenon of redundancy. But how can we notice the difference between the suppression of the subject of the sentence *Diacul Radu* the pronominalization of the direct object (the hawk) and the other suppressions? In fact, the previous information is subordinated to each element of the sequence, but still the grammars ignore it.

The difference between an empty form (pro-form zero) and a non-empty form (pronominal form) is not very relevant:

(1) The comparison of different languages has led us to the conclusion that the suppression and the substitution by a pronoun can operate on the same subordinated structure, under the same syntactic rules, the choice being dictated by a chosen code. Let us have the following subordinated structure: *Mary's house* and *John's house* (*La maison de Marie*, *la Maison de Jean*) two different houses. There are two ways to express this idea in Romanian: a) *casa Mariei şi casa lui Ion*, or *casa Mariei şi cea a lui Ion*. In (b) *the house* undergoes the reduction of *cea* - substitution. In English we get:a') *Mary's house and John's house* or (b') *Mary's and John's house* with the suppression of one of the two "houses".

(2) The interrelation deletion substitution operates in the same language according to the functioning of the rules expressed in syntactic terms. Let us take into consideration, for example, the ways to diminish the redundancy within the frame of the coordination of the type 'p ET q':

ex.:(I) *John*$_1$ *sleeps and John*$_2$ *dreams* - *John sleeps and dreams*, where we get a complete suppression because of the relation John$_1$ = John$_2$.

(II) *John bought Jean a funny doll, but Jean doesn't wish to see it*, where *doll=> it*; substitution, in fact pronominalization.

(III) *John goes to the mountains today and Mary comes back from Paris today*; the reduction of the element *today* is nearly not possible, since it generates an ambigous sentence: (a) *John goes to the mountains and Mary comes back from Paris today*.

b) *John goes to the mountains today and Mary comes back from Paris*, where the absence of the adverbial of time makes us suppose several different relations between the moments of the two actions; priority of leaving, subsequency of leaving, simultaneity of leaving.

The three examples,that we have examined suggest the possibility of a hierarchy of degrees existing between total deletion (I) and blocking the suppression, whose rules can be expressed in syntactic terms, because of the categorial symbols dominating the suppressed unities. Differentiating between the rules allowing for suppression and the rules not allowing for it, is one of the tasks of TG, but, it does not, in our opinion, contribute very much to differentiating between the pronoun and the suppression of syntagmatic redundancy in general.

(C) The opposition "*compulsory-optional*" is another element,which grammarians have tried to introduce in the grammar of pronominalisation;Lila R.Gleitman,for example, reminds us of the fact that pronominalisation is not always an optional transformation:"If the option of increasing stress (i.e.intending two different referents) is not taken, pronominalisation with the reflexive or reciprocal forms is obligatory in simplexes. Intuitively, pronominal replacement is obligatory in a symplex, where a repetition of referent is intended".[16] John Robert Ross[17] makes the remark that in English, at least, the anaphoric pronominalisation is always compulsory: in the surface structure of an utterance we never repeat the same name. Mark G.Goldin considers that in general Ross's observation proves to be true, but that in spoken English we may come across the repretition of the same name as well, when it is required by the message. For example: John told Charles that he had won the contest is ambigous; that is why John told Charles that John had won the contest or, John told Charles that Charles had won the contest are grammatical sentences in English (Cf. in Romanian as well Ioana i-a cumpărat Irinei o păpuşă, dar aceasta nici nu vrea să o vadă - where aceasta may be either Irina or o păpuşă and o may signify either păpuşa or Ioana.

And thus he concludes: "both anaphoric and nonanaphoric pronominalisations are optional".[18] Thus the difference between obligation and option, in the domain of the reduction of redundancy, proves to be much more a problem of probability (of degrees of probability) than the binarial choice between yes and no.

In order to discover the game of the options and obligations within the mechanism of suppression or replacement, we have applied the following test: we have filled out a fragment from the novel "Nicoară Potcoavă" by introducing a part of the elements which we could get from the previous information. We have required from five subjects of different professions (A, B: linguists, C-sociologist, D-typist, E-journalist) to do everything they thought necessary, in order to find for the text the form they would have chosen to express its content. The text acquired the following form:

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[16] Lila R.Gleitman, Coordinating Conjunctions, "Modern Studies in English" ... cit., p.99.

[17] John R.Ross, On the cyclic nature of English Pronominalisation "To Honour Roman Jakobson", pp.1669-1682.

[18] Mark G.Goldin, Spanish Case and Function, Georgetown University Press Washington D.C. (s.a.) p.59.

(Boierii$_1$) i s-au închinat (lui Nicoară$_2$). Nicoară i-a luat după umeri (pe boieri$_3$) ducînd (Nicoară$_4$)(pe boieri$_5$) cu (Nicoară$_6$) în odaia cu sofa şi jilţuri. Pe pereţi (i odăii aceleia$_7$) erau întinse scorţuri; la răsărit (în odaia aceea$_8$)(erau$_9$) candela şi icoane. Se aflau pe masa de la fereasta odăii meşteşugurile scrisului foi, cerneală şi-o pană de vultur. Lîngă uşa (odăii aceleia$_{10}$) dormita pe speteaza lui un şoim slobod. A venit diaconul Radu şi l-a luat (pe şoimul acela slobod$_{11}$) purtînd (diăconul Radu$_{12}$)(pe şoimul acela$_{13}$) pe braţul drept (al diaconului Radu$_{14}$):
"(The boyards$_1$)(bowed)(to Nicoară$_2$). Nicoară/took them (the boyards$_3$) by the shoulder/taking along (Nicoară$_4$)(the boyards$_5$) with him (Nicoară$_6$) in the room, where there were a sofa and armchairs. On the walls (of that room$_7$) there were rugs;on the eastern wall (in that room$_8$)/there was$_9$/(a) votive light and icons ... next to the door (of the room$_{10}$) a free hawk was dozing on the back (of a chair). The clerk Radu came and took him/it (that free hawk$_{11}$), carrying him/it (the 'diac' Radu$_{12}$)(that free hawk$_{13}$) on the right arm (of the 'diac' Radu$_{14}$)".

We had the following result:

(I) The answers were identical concering the suppression of sequences (4,12); I mean the subject of gerundial propositions: ducînd, purtînd and the reduction to the personal pronoun of the sequence (5,13)? I mean of the direct objects of purtînd and ducînd All dropped the sequence (8), determiner of the place adverbial, but nobody dropped the sequences (odăii$_7$) and (odăii$_{10}$), that have the same function, and express the same idea as (8). None of them reduces the copula (erau$_9$) according to the original version.

(II) Three of the subjects (ABC-) replaced the sequence (Nicoară$_6$) by the reflexive pronoun: cu sine, instead of cu el, which is to be found in the original text; D and E reduced it to null.

(III) Four of the subjects (ABDE) reduced the sequence (pe boierii$_3$) while they still preserved the pronoun i .

(IV) The subjects A, B, D, gave up the determiner aceleia of the sequence (7). None of them noticed the redundancy of the (odăii$_7$).

(V) Three of the subjects felt like adding to the attribute of the copula erau, namely candela si icoane, quantitative determiner: o candelă si cîteva icoane A; o candelă si niste icoane B; candele si icoane D.

(VI) The subjects A and B dropped the sequence aceleia from (10) D inverted the determiner: acelei odăi instead of odăii aceleia; none of them noticed the redundancy of (odăii$_{10}$).

(VII) They all replaced the personal pronoun lui, that appeared in the original text, of the sequence pe speteaza lui, by common nouns; A: pe speteaza jiltului; B: pe speteaza unui scaun; C: la locul lui, which proves that the pronominalization needn't have taken place, because, in our opinion, it has generated an ambiguity.

(VIII) The subjects A and B dropped the sequence (11), the direct object of a luat, while they still preserved the personal pronoun l (l-a luat).

(IX) The subjects B, D and E replaced the object of the noun: pe braţul lui drept in the sequence (al Diacului Radu$_{14}$), by the reflexive pronoun său: pe braţul său drept, because of its identity with the subject of the sentence. A and C completely dropped the sequence (14), just as in the original text.

The test, that we have presented here, points out to the fact that the probability of the reduction of redundancy varies from one end to the other end of the chain of speech. The suppression of the subjects of the gerundial propositions as well as the pronominalization of the direct objects of the verbs in the gerund, reaches the limits of the gratest positive probability. It is the degree of necessity, recte obligation. The ambiguity of lui, of the sequence pe speteaza lui points to the greatest negative probability: the inderdiction of the pronominalization.

The answers concerning the other sequences signify intermediate degrees of probability. The suppression of the copula erau is, for example. acceptable, but little probable: it is a stylistic deviation.

Although the determination (especially of odăii) of the adverbials of place (pe pereţii, lîngă uşă, la răsărit) is perfectly acceptable, bearing in mind the fact that in the text no other interpretation of the pro-morpheme is possible we cannot look upon it as compulsory.

Anyhow, postulating a distribution admitted-non admitted is easier than establishing the degrees of probability for the optional transformation. From the theoretical point of view we can accept all suppression of redundancy, unless it generates ambiguities.

(3) A far more important inconvenience than the difficulty of detecting the degrees of probability, is the impossibility of

explaining the behaviour of the "pronoun without antecedent" like the personal pronouns of the I-st and II-nd persons singular, the indefinite pronouns of the type Sp. *alquien*, *algo*, *nadie*, *nada*, Engl. *somebody*, *something*, etc. In other words, the transformational position leaves unexplained a large series of phenomena concerning the apparition of pronouns in the S S and reduces pronominalization to the insertion of personal pronouns of the III-rd person.

It cannot realize the lexical differences, the quantity of information brought by the pronominal item in the case of demonstrative or quantitative pronouns.

2. It is exactly in order to solve this problem and free the pronoun from its dependency on redundancy reduction, that the "lexical" theory put forward by Paul H.Postal, Ray S.Jackendoff, E.Vasiliu, Dubois Charlier, etc. has been developed. This theory has several variants:

a) The PRO symbol is introduced among the items of the T G dictionary. Ray S.Jackendoff[19] considers that "Pronouns are lexical items which can be substituted into base structure like any other NP".

(b) The Vasiliu-Golopenţia vari[illegible] includes the PRO symbol as an optional symbol in the context - free rewriting rules, next to the deleted Nominal or Nucleus: see the rules:

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[19] Ray S.Jackendoff, *An Interpretative Theory of Pronouns and Reflexive*, Indiana University Club, mimeo, 1968: "The linguistically significant properties of coreferentiality can be described by making pairs of NPs as coreferential or noncoreferential. Obligatorily noncoreferential pronouns such as *someone else* and *another* and 'pronominal epithets'... can fill very naturally into the interpretative theory of pronouns whereas they do not work very nicely at all in a transformational theory. There are rules of semantic interpretation that operate on derived structures, whithin the transformational cycle".

[20] Emanuel Vasiliu & Sanda Golopenţia-Eretescu, *Sintaxa transformaţională a limbii române*, Buc.Ed.Academiei R.S.R. 1968.

$$(C_1)\ \#\ P\#\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{Pr.Cond.}\ \#\ P\ \#\\ \text{Av}\smile P^\frown(\text{PRO})^\frown\text{Nucleus}\end{array}\right.$$

and

$$(C_8)\ \text{Nominal}\rightarrow\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{Personal}\\ \text{PRO}^\frown\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{N}\\ \text{NMZ}^\frown\#\ P\ \#\end{array}\right\}^\frown\text{Flex}\end{array}\right.$$

The transformational cycle comprises no pronominalization rule.

(c) Starting from the fact that the "coreference marker" cannot be reduced to personal morphemes Paul N.Postal[21] considers that the third person personal pronoun is a variant of the definite article.

This interpretation is also based on the fact that demonstrative or quantitative pronouns can be considered combinatory variants of the corresponding adjectives.

Jean Dubois and Françoise Dubois-Charlier adopt a similar position establishing an obligatory link between the demonstratives and the definite article: "The pronominal transformation is released by the presence in the nominal phrase undergoing pronominalization of a demonstrative whose semantic role is to establish a reference between this nominal and the presupposed nominal phrase[22].

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[21] Paul M.Postal, On so-called 'Pronouns in English "Modern Studies in English ... cit.", p.125:That is, the so-called third person pronouns it, he, her, them etc. are exactly the articles assigned to nouns containing the features + PRO + Definite - Demonstrative, + III, - II, -I, in the absence of restrictive relative phrases in the relevant NP".

[22] Jean Dubois & Françoise Dubois-Charlier, Elements de linguistique française: Syntaxe, Larousse, Paris, 1970, p.229.

The underlying structure of an utterance such as:

Vois-tu la pomme sur l'arbre?

Je la vois.

is according to Dubois and Charlier, Demonstrative⌒Def⌒ProN (22, p.230).

Just like Ray S.Jackendoff both authors introduce the symbol ProN (nominal proform) in the TG dictionary, the nature of this proform seeming quite unclear to us. "A proform is a dictionary item which includes in its definition a system of fundamental features, some of which we have already examined, except for any semantic feature defining a meaning".(22, p.56).

These proforms replace the noun in the rewriting rule. In certain S.S. cases the proform, the Demonstrative and the Definite Article are fused in a unique morpheme, in other cases it can be isolated:

Fr.: on, un (quelque - chaque), i/e (qu-), chose, truc, etc. (22. p.66).

The "lexical" theory tries to explain the semantic differences between the substituted syntagm and the syntagm releasing the substitution by the changes in the semantic interpretation - which is the task of a dictionary. It hasn't however, succeeded in pointing out the relationship between the inventory of pronouns, and the syntactic phenomenon of the redundancy reduction. For most linguists the pronominalisation is always reduced to the substitution with a personal pronoun in the third person (Dubois-M. Tugescu). Others (Vasiliu-Golopenţia) no longer consider it a transformational fact.

3. The weak points of the two theories we have described have determined us to reexamine the following relationship.

(i) the relationship between the pronouns as a lexical fact and syntactic redundancy.

(ii) the relationship between the noun determiners and the pronouns, within the redundancy reduction mechanism.

The results were the following:

1. The redundancy reduction may be accompanied by the occurrence at the SS level of units usually considered pronouns: personal pronouns in the case of coreference, demonstrative pronouns and quantitatives in the case of lexical item identity. The conditions ruling the occurrence of every pronoun can be expressed as well in syntactic (see, for instance, the game of the demonstratives the noun pronominalization, direct object, etc.) as in semantic (e.g. the choice of a certain quantitative interpretation, of a certain person) terms.

2. The pronoun can occur at the SS level even if the Nominal has been deleted under circumstances differing from those that rule the deletion of syntactic redundancy, namely:

(a) the nominal may be deleted provided it gets a semantic interpretation /+ Idefinite/.; Rom.: cineva, altcineva, ceva, nimeni, nimic; Engl. someone, somebody, nothing, etc.

These pronouns can be brought to underlying structures amalgamating a quantifier to a determined totality: e.g. an X belonging to the multitude of persons. Rom : cineva, Engl.somebody; (there is) no X belonging to the totality of persons: Rom .:nimeni Engl.nobody, Sp. nadie.

(b) The deletion of the Nominal takes place if it is interpreted as /+ Definite/ Det in the context $\mathrm{Det} > \mathrm{GN} < \mathrm{Nominal} \left\langle \begin{matrix} \text{Emitter} \\ \text{Receiver} \end{matrix} \right\rangle$ -. It is the case of the 1st and 2nd person personal pronouns.

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3. In this theory the nominal deletion accompanying the occurrence of the pronoun at the SS level is not always the result of the redundancy reduction. At the same time, not any redundancy reduction implies the occurrence of a nonnull form substitute (even under the domination of an NP).

The conditions which exclude occurrence of the substitutes in the redundancy reduction are expressible in syntactic terms. For instance in the case of the p AND q, the nonnull form pronominalization is excluded, if the deleted nominal is under the domination of NP Nucleus (q) and the antecedent is also an NP Nucleus (p).

Ion doarme şi Ion visează → Ion doarme şi el visează[23]. If the nominal which is to be deleted doesn't appear under the domination of the Nucleus dominated by q, the pronominalization is necessary.

Băiatul culege mere şi fetiţa le mănîncă.

Generally speaking the chances of the deletion of the nominal and its determiners decline, as the number of nodes between the P and the nominal increase.

That means that the pronominalization and the redundancy reduction are converging but not identical phenomena.

In the contexts to be defined the markers of gender number, case, quantity, deixies, determining the deletable Nominal persist to the SS level. It is because they have to achieve the isotopy of the utterance (number and gender redundancy) or bring new quantity of information (the case marker, quantitatives, demonstratives). All these markers "appear" at the SS level as pronouns, although they are only determiners at the DS level.

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[23] Voir notre article Les conjonctions de coordination dans une grammaire transformationnelle romane "Bulletin de la Société Roumaine de Linguistique Romane", 7, 1970, p. 5-20.

Sometimes they preserve this role in the SS as well accompanying the noun.

Fr. *Comment Jeanne peut-elle faire une chose pareille?*

It. *Te io dico che ti amo*

Roum. *I-am spus mamei*.

According to this theory pronominalization is only a sequence of rules transforming the noun determiners in morphemes belonging to the level of the SS under certain conditions leading to the deletion of the nominal. This is why we think that *the pronoun is not a noun substitute but a difference, what is left of the NP after the lexical item, the noun, is left out*[24].

The substitution is only a surface phenomenon, an appearance hiding a complex of heterogeneous mechanisms: syntactic (the pronominalization transformation), *semantic* (the interpretation of the determiners) *the economy of speech*.

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[24] v. "... pronominalization means deletion of all of a Noun Phrase except the determiner, which is then a pronoun" (p.67).

NOTES ON A SYNTACTIC CONSTRINT ON MOVEMENT RULES IN ENGLISH AND ROMANIAN: PIED-PIPING OR THE FELLOW TRAVELING CONSTRAINT

by Al. Cornilescu

000. One very common operation performed by transformational rules is that of reordering constituents. For instance, to form the passive of a sentence, the passive rule moves the object into subject position and the former subject into object position. The movement is here confined within the boundaries of one sentence.

In other cases constituents can be moved from very deeply embedded sentences so that the actual configuration of the path the constituent travels along, cannot be specified by the rule of grammar. Such a rule is the wh-question formation rule. The questioned element travels over a variable:

What did Bill buy?

What did you force Bill to buy?

What did Harry say that you forced Bill to buy?

In formulating such a rule one must make use of variables. The wh-question formation rules can be roughly stated as follows:

X - NP - Y
1 2 3
2+1 ∅ 3
where 2 dominates wh+some.

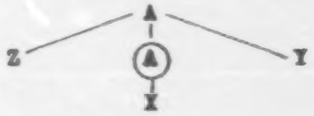
While a moment's reflection will convince anyone that the rule is unstatable without variables, it is easy to see that as it now stands, the rule is too powerful; nothing in it prevents the generation of ungrammatical strings such as:

Ştiu că unul dintre cei pe care i-am poftit nu vine la petrecere.

* Cine ştiu dintre cei pe care i-am poftit că nu vine la petrecere?

This shows that some rules must contain variables but that somehow the power of these variables must be restricted.

001. The first attempt to limit the power of variables in syntax is Chomsky's A-over-A principle. He noticed that if a rule must operate on a constituent X of category A, which is in itself embedded within a larger phrase ZXY which is also of category A, then no rule applying to the category A applies to X only but only ZXY. In terms of a tree diagram the principle asserts that all transformations which refer to A must apply to the topmost A not to the dominated A, as shown in the diagram:



Therefore in the example above, although only the constituent unii is questioned, as it is contained in the larger NP: unii dintre cei pe care i-am poftit, the whole NP should be moved: Cine dintre cei pe care i-am poftit ştii că nu vine la petrecere?

Further research on variables such as (Postal's Cross-Over Phenomena[1] and especially Ross'Constraints[2]) found this principle too strong in some respects and too weak in other respects.

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[1] see Postal Paul M. - Cross Over Phenomena, Holt Rinehart and Winston Inc., 1971.

[2] see Ross J.R-Constraints on Variables in Syntax. M.I.T. Doctorial Dissertation (mimeo), 1967.

The Pied-Piping (or fellow traveling) convention is, we think, nothing else than a weakened version of the A-over-A principle:

It asserts that it is a functional property of some transformational rules which operate on the proper analysis of phrase markers, that they operate in such a way as to reorder not an NPs mentioned in some term T of the proper analysis but rather some NP in the phrase marker which dominates NPs.

This larger NP travels with the smaller one. It is essential to notice that as reformulated by Ross and Postal this principle:

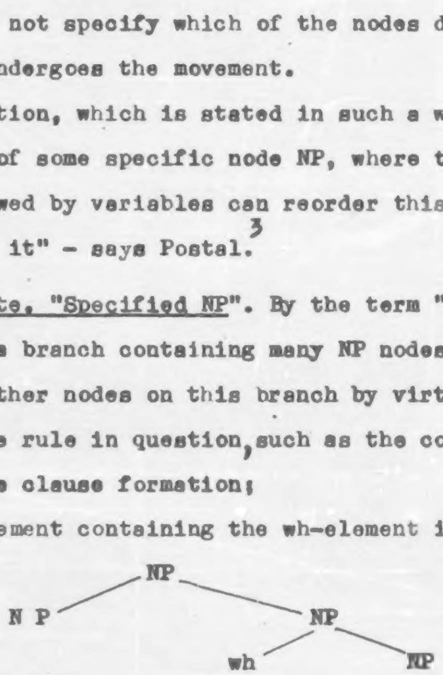
a) allows for the movement of the dominated node in some environments only and

b) does not specify which of the nodes dominating the mentioned one undergoes the movement.

"Any transformation, which is stated in such a way as to effect the reordering of some specific node NP, where this node is preceded and followed by variables can reorder this NP or any NP which dominates it" - says Postal.[3]

002. Note. "Specified NP". By the term "specified" we mean the node NP in a branch containing many NP nodes which is singled out from all other nodes on this branch by virtue of some added condition on the rule in question, such as the condition on the rule of relative clause formation;

i.e. the element containing the wh-element in its determiner:



At this point the question might aries as to whether we couldn't just say that the wh-element attaches to the larger NP rather than to the dominated one , that is, whether there is any non-arbitrary way of deciding which is the specified node.

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[3] Postal op.cit. pg.90.

The "Cross-Over" phenomena discussed by Postal provide a way of deciding which NP is mentioned or specified by a rule.Cross over phenomena provide important support for the existence of Pied Piping. Roughly speaking what Postal does is to formulate the following constraint on movement rules: Given a phrase marker P and a transformation T which is otherwise applicable to P, T cannot apply to P if the operation of T on P will result in one NP in P crossing another NP with which it is coreferential. As coreferentiality is a semantic phenomenon we have a way of testing which constituents are specified by the rules.

Consider,as an illustration,the sentences below:

1. She$_I$ knows that Bill hates her.$_I$	1. Ea$_I$ stie că (pe ea)$_I$ Bill o urăste.
2. *Who$_I$ does she$_I$ know that Bill hates?	2.*Pe cine$_I$ stie că Bill o ureste?
3. Who$_I$ knows that Bill hates her?$_I$	3. Cine$_I$ stie că Bill o$_I$ urăste?

Consider now the sentence:

[the man [the man$_I$ [loved [$_{+wh}$man's]$_{NP}$ son]$_{NP}$]S]NP

1 2 3 4 5 6

1. Omul$_I$ care$_I$ îl iubea pe fiul lui$_I$.	1. The man$_I$ who, loved his, son.
*2. Omul$_I$ pe fiul căruia$_I$ (omul) îl iubea.	*2. The man$_I$ whose$_I$ son he$_I$ loved.
3. Omul al cărui fiu îl iubea.	3. The man$_I$ whose son loved him.

The sentences above show cases where larger NPs containing other NPs (whose son, pe fiul căruia) cross NPs with violation but where the only coreference is between the contained NP (whose, căruia) and those crossed. That violations do occur is an indication that it is the NP of the fourth term which is the specified NP, although it is the larger NP that is actually moved, this being due to the obligatory character of Pied Piping in this context. The evidence in favour of Pied Piping is even stronger, for not only does this notion predict the violation in cases as the above but it also correctly predicts the absence of crossing violation in examples such as the ones below.

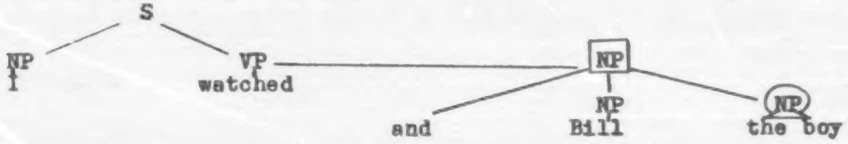
John disagreed with $\begin{bmatrix}\text{some men}\\ +\text{wh}\end{bmatrix}_{NP}$ of the men$_S$ $\Big[$who critised John$_S\Big]_{NP}\Big]$

Which of the men who critized John$_I$ did he$_I$ disagree with?

What man who insulted Mary$_1$ did she$_1$ end up dating?

003. Note. In the discussion of this principle Ross specifies two conditions on Pied Piping resulting from the interaction of this principle with other constraints in the grammar such as the coordonate structure constraint etc.

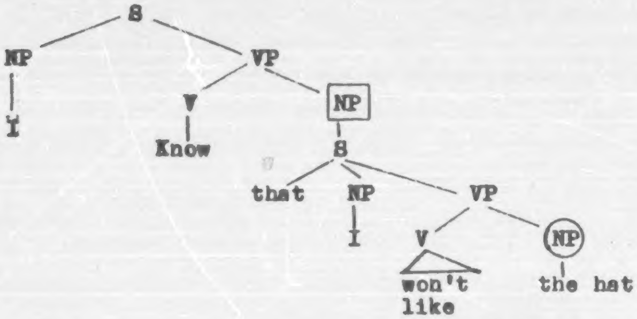
a) if an NP dominating the specified NP is coordinated, neither it, nor any higher NP can be moved.



* the boy who I watched Bill and

* the boy Bill and whom I watched.

b) if a branch of a P marker has an occurrence of the node S intervening between two occurrences of the node NP, only the lower one, the circled NP in the tree structure below, can be reordered. This restriction does not extend to VPs (or nominalized VPs).



They will give me a hat which I know that I won't like.

* *They will give me a hat that I won't like which I know.*

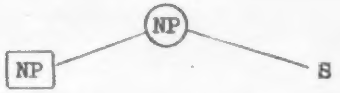
In the following we will exclude structures such as in a) and b) above; therefore we won't discuss them in any further detail.

100. The final formulation of Pied Piping asserts that any transformation which reorders some specified NP, where this node is preceded and followed by variables in the structural index of the rule, may apply to this NP or to *some* (sometimes *any*) non-coordinate NP which dominates it, as long as there are no occurrences of any coordinate node or of any node S on the branch connecting the higher node and the specified node.

That is, there is a syntactic property call it (Pied Pipe) which can be assigned to nodes, and which, when it is assigned to nodes requires movement of an NP dominating one mentioned by the rule of movement.

This paper attemps to provide evidence for the action of this principle in Romanian and English (for English this has already been done) and hopes to show that while such a principle is at work in a variety of cases in both languages, its scope and the contexts in which it is optional or obligatory are extremely idiosyncretic and language dependent. In particular the constraints on NP movements are very different in English and Romanian and due to the many rules which move NPs and obey the constraints (the relative transformation, the interrogative transformation, *tough* movement etc.) these constraints seem to have rather interesting consequences on the syntactic structure of English and Romanian.

2. Let us first consider one case in which Romanian and English behave similarly. In a relative clause structure it is not possible to question or relativize the dominated (boxed) NP. Rather, the whole (circled) NP has to be moved. i.e. Pied Piping is obligatory.



Let us consider the following examples:

1. They expected a performer who was very famous to appear shortly.

2. * The performer (who) they expected was very famous to appear shortly was still in his pyjamas.

3. The performer who was very famous who they expected to appear shortly was still in his pyjamas.

4. The performer who they expected to appear shortly who was very famous was still in his pyjamas.

5.* The performer who they excepted to appear shortly was still in his pyjamas who was very famous.

6. *Il asteptau pe un interpret care era foarte celebru să apară curînd pe scenă*.

7. **Interpretul pe care îl asteptau care era foarte celebru să apară curînd pe scenă era încă în pijama*.

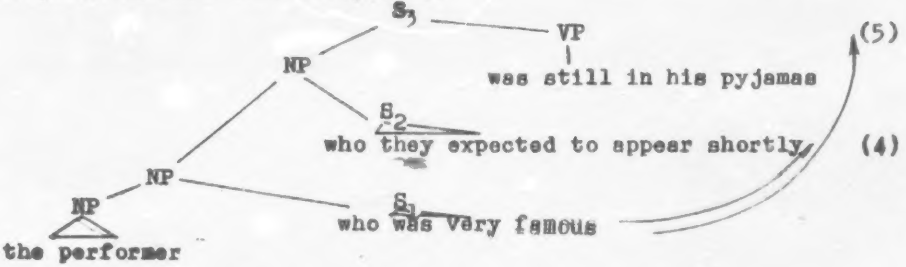
8. *Interpretul care era foarte celebru pe care îl asteptau să apară curînd pe scenă era încă în pijama*.

9. *Interpretul pe care îl asteptau să apară curînd pe scenă care era foarte celebru era încă în pijama*.

10. * *Interpretul pe care îl asteptam să apară curînd pe era încă în pijama care era foarte celebru*.

Thus, as sentences 2-3 and 7-8 show if, the NP *the performer* is to be relativised, the whole NP which dominates it: *the performer who was very famous - interpretul care era foarte celebru* must be moved forward with it yielding 3 and 8. It is not possible to relativise the dominated NP by moving it to the front of the sentence leaving the relative clause behind.

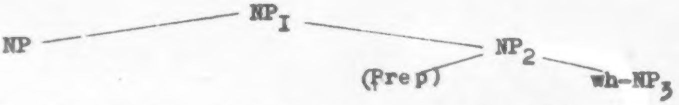
Applying Extraposition from NP, one can derive sentences 4/9 which are different from 2/7. Note that the rule which moves the relative clauses in 4-9 obeys the general constraint on extraposition rules, according to which an extraposed clause may never be moved outside the first sentence up. This condition is met in 4/9 (see diagram). As expected sentences 5/10 which violate this requirement are note acceptable.



The same Pied Piping constraint holds true for reduced relative clauses and for interrogative clauses, as the examples below will show. Thus the following well-formed questions given by Poutsma[4], obey the constraint.

- Who that saw him then and knew him did not love him?
- Who in whom that clergyman has an interest is in the smallest degree damnified?.
- Care om care l-a văzut şi l-a cunoscut nu l-a apreciat?

3. In this section we are going to look at another interesting area where the principle of Pied Piping finds its application; the formation of relative clauses built on NPs which function as nominal modifiers of other NPs (in which they are therefore contained). This can be viewed as the reverse of the preceding cases: there we discussed the strengh of the ties between a head noun and its modifying clause (phrase), here we are interested in cases where a noun contained in a nominal modifier is pulled out by a movement rule:



Again it will be seen that there are environments where one can or must move not only the specified NP$_3$ but also other NPs dominating it (occasionally the whole sentence containing NP$_I$).

In support of this, people like Ross[5] Postal[6], Quirk[7] give the following kind of rather spectacular examples:

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[4] see Poutsma Hendrik - A Grammar of Modern English. Groningen, P.Nordhoff, 1941, Part II.

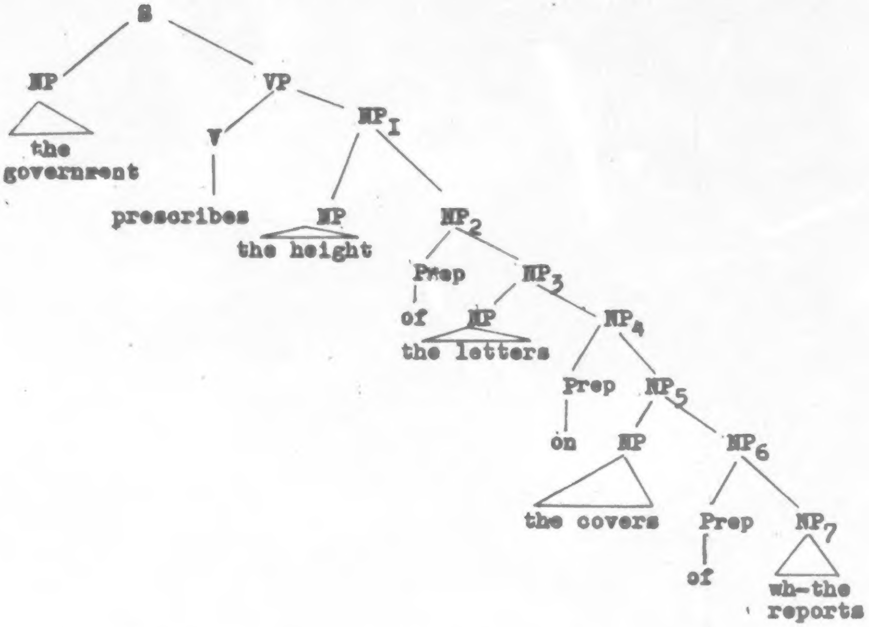
[5] Ross, op. cit. pg. 217.

[6] Postal, op.cit. pg.93

[7] See Quirk Randolph, Greenbaum Sidney, Leech Geoffrey, Svartik Jan - A Grammar of Contemporary English. Seminar Press, 1972, pg.397-398.

I overheard the discussion of the reason for the failure of this proposal.	Am interceptat discutarea cauzei pentru eşecul (eşecului) acelei propuneri.
1. The proposal which I overheard the discussion of the reason for the failure of.	* Propunerea care/al căreia/ am interceptat discutarea motivului pentru eşecul.
2. The proposal (?for) the failure of which I overheard the discussion of the reason (for).	* Propunerea (pentru al cărei eşec/pentru eşecul căreia) am interceptat discutarea motivului.
3. The proposal the reason for the failure of which I overheard the discussion of.	* Propunerea motivului pentru eşecul căreia/pentru al cărei eşec/ am interceptat discutarea.
4. The proposal the discussion of the reason for the failure of which I overheard.	Propunerea discutarea motivului pentru eşecul căreia am interceptat-o.
The government prescribes the height of the letters on the covers of the reports.	Guvernul prescrie mărimea literelor de pe copertele rapoartelor.
1. The reports, which the government prescribes the heights of the letter on the covers of always put me to sleep.	* Rapoartele, cărora guvernul prescrie mărimea literelor de pe copertă mă fac întodeauna să adorm.
2. The reports (on) the covers of which the government prescribes the height of the letters (on) always put me to sleep.	(?) Rapoartele (de) pe coperta cărora guvernul prescrie mărimea literelor mă fac întodeauna să adorm.

3. The reports, the letters on the covers of which the government prescribes the height of always put me to sleep.	* Rapoartele literelor de pe coperta cărora guvernul prescrie mărimea mă fac întodeauna să adorm.
4. The reports, the height of the letters on the covers of which government prescribes always put me to sleep.	a) Rapoartele, mărimea literelor de pe coperta cărora o hotărăşte guvernul mă fac întodeauna să dorm.
	b) Rapoartele care mărimea literelor de pe coperţile lor o hotărăşte guvernul, mă fac întodeauna să dorm.


S
NP
the government
VP
V
prescribes
NP$_I$
NP
the height
NP$_2$
Prep
of
NP$_3$
NP
the letters
NP$_4$
Prep
on
NP$_5$
NP
the covers
NP$_6$
Prep
of
NP$_7$
wh-the reports

Such examples represent extreme cases in a way: i.e. cases in which English looks most flexible and Romanian most frozen with the result that several acceptable (grammatical even if stylistically not quite felicitous) English sentences hardly have one acceptable Romanian equivalent (the other possibility being the ungrammatical anacoluthon 4.b.).

In English Pied Piping is optional so that the Relative Clause Formation rule supplemented by our principle allows for the adjoining to the front of the sentence of the specified NP_7 *the reports* or of NP_6, *of the reports*, or NP_5 *the covers of the reports* etc. so that all of the clauses given above are generated.

In Romanian Pied Piping is obligatory, there is no way of moving just NP_7; a higher node containing it is fronted (possibly (*de) pe coperţile cărora/ de pe ale căror coperţi)* - or, much better, *mărimea literelor de pe coperţile cărora*).

We have tried to see whether Pied Piping is a random process or whether there are factors which influence or control it. The latter seems to be the case; the behaviour of embedded NPs under the action of the relative Clause Formation rule is influenced:

a) by their syntactic function and the syntactic function of the nouns above them

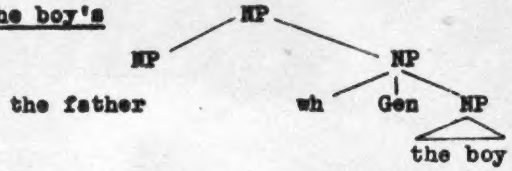
b) second, and more important, by the morphological means of marking the syntactic function (inflectional versus prepositional marking)

c) type of relative pronoun used.

(By now it must have been noticed that a sufficient but *by no means* necessary condition on higher NPs being moved is that there are constituents which can or must precede the relative pronoun, as seen in the examples above).

Let us first remark that in both languages inflectionally marked genitives cannot be separated from their heads so that Pied Piping obligatorily applies.

I know the boy's father	Il cunosc pe tatăl băiatului.



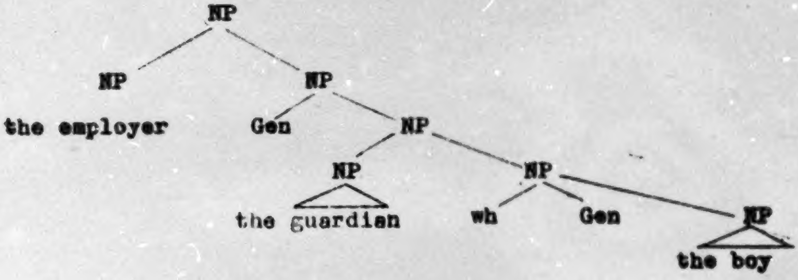
The boy whose father I know.	Băiatul – pe al cărui tată îl cunosc.
	Băiatul – pe tatăl căruia îl cunosc.
* The boy whose I know father.	* Băiatul { – al cărui – căruia } îl cunosc pe tatăl.

This principle is trivially true for Romanian (less so for English perhaps or for languages such as Latin and Russian which allow the attribute pronoun to be seperated from its head).

Notice also that Romanian has the option of using al+Rel. before the noun (when the NP is not definite * pe al cărui tatăl) or the definite NP + Rel. without al: pe tatăl căruia.

Things get worse when the noun above the specified wh-noun is itself a genetive a.s.o.

The boy's guardian's employer.	Patronul tutorelui băiatului.



Pied Piping is again obligatory and it is the whole NP that has to be moved.

We elected president the boy's guardian's employer.	L-am ales preşedinte pe patronul tutorelui băiatului.
The boy whose guardian's employer we elected president.	Băiatul pe patronul tutorelui căruia l-am ales preşedinte. Băiatul pe al cărui patron al tutorelui l-am ales preşedinte.
* The boy whose guardian's we elected president employer.	* Băiatul (pe) al cărui tutorelui l-am ales preşedinte (pe) patron(ul).
* The boy whose we elected president guardian's employer.	* Băiatul al cărui l-am ales preşedinte pe patronul tutorelui.

However, in English Pied Piping is obligatory only if the genetive is inflectionally marked: when prepositional equivalents of the genetive are used Pied Piping is optional.

With non personal antecedents of which is often used instead of whose this making Pied Piping optional.

The book which I lost the cover of.

The book of which I lost the cover.

The book the cover of which I lost.

For personal antecedents *whose* is sometimes interchangeable with *of whom*. (According to Poutsma[8], "in the majority of cases *whose* hardly bears being replaced by its periphrastic equivalent. But the analytical construction may be common enough when the noun modified expresses how one person is related or disposed to another: then *of whom* tends to occupy front position"). Here are some literary examples of pied-piped and non-piped relative clauses, with genitive relative pronouns:

1. The methods of *Pope* - *of whom* he was the worshipper:

2. These names of which he remembered *some*.

3. He comes from a place *the name of which* escapes me.

4. Can any of you readers tell me of whom Miss Fairbrother, the celebrated actress, was the daugther?

5. She did not fear a single English woman, the powers of *most of whom* she despised.

6. There was a song which Joe-used to sing *fragments of* at the forge.

There is general agreement among the grammarians of English concerning the fact that Pied Piping seems obligatory in partitive constructions or that partitive constructions should not be broken.

The same is often said about sequences of *of-phrases*. Although this is true in the majority of cases, counterexamples are not hard to find. (8, 9, 10 below).

7. The children, relatives of whom I investigated.

*The children, of whom I investigated relatives.

---

[8] Poutsma op.cit. Part.II, p.973.

*The children, whom I investigated relatives of

Notice however examples of broken partitive constructions:

8. Run Mary dear ... and see if he has any nice ham out *that* he would let us have a *pound of*. (the use of that is responsible for this case of splitting an *of* phrase).

9. Money *which* he had lent *plenty of*, ... the pain of poverty which I had lately seen too much of ...

10. To this Mr.Weller only replied by a wink, the *intense meaning of which* no description could convey *the faintest idea of*.

We hope that the examples above illustrate almost all the theoretically possible arrangements of genitives. They provide conclusive evidence for the function and the optional character of Pied Piping with English prepositional genitives.

The next area of contrastively interesting cases is that where the noun to be relativized is a genitive embedded into:

a) a dative

b) a genitive governed by a preposition such as: *asupra*, *contra*, *împotriva* etc.

c) a dative governed by a preposition such as: *mulţumită* *graţie*, *datorită*,

The Romanian examples require obligatory pied piping. One more specification is necessary: in most cases the whole NP has to precede the relative (i.e. the al + Rel + NP construction is not available):

Băiatul *fratelui mai mic al căruia* i-am dat bomboane plîngea.

* Băiatul *al căruia* i-am dat bomboane *fratelui mai mic* plîngea.

* Băiatul al căruia fratelui mai mic i-am dat bomboane plîngea.

D-l maior F.B. graţie amabilităţii căruia opera filantropică avusese concursul gratis.

* D-l maior F.B. graţie a cărui amabilităţi opera filantropică avusese concursul gratis.

- ... inspectează drumurile şi podul, în amintirea inaugurării căruia s-a şi bătut o medalie.

- ... pe soţia sa - însemnatei zestre a căreia noul Domn îi datora în mare parte înălţarea sa.

Elsa Nilson, from whose comprehensive study on Romanian relatives the above examples are taken, accounts for this restriction in the word-order of the relative clause in the following way: "L'ordre" subst. + relative représenté par ces exemples doit être mis en rapport avec la rareté du génitif-datif de al (alui, alei, alor); en effect les seules formes fréquentes de al sont les quatre que nouns avons mentionnées (al, a, ai, ale). M.Rosenstand Housen dit que ce cas représent l'ordre normal des mots mais il ne semble pas avoir songé au rôle qu'a pu jouer la morphologie de al".[9]

Structures mentioned under a), b), c) act like islands, like frozen structures with respect to the movement rules.

In English, on the other hand, it is at least theoretically possible to move any of the NP from sentences such as:

- I gave some candy to the younger brother of the boy
- The boy who I a gave some candy to the younger brother of, was bitterly crying.

---

[9] Nilson Elsa, Les terms relatifs et les propositions relatives an roumain moderne, Etudes romanes de Lund. XVII - 1969, pg.21.

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- The boy to whose younger brother I gave some candy was bitterly crying.

- The boy whose younger brother I gave some candy to was bitterly crying.

(?) The boy, the younger brother of whom I gave some candy to was botterly crying.

(?) The boy, to the younger brother of whom I gave some candy was bitterly crying.

(??) The boy of whom I gave sweets to the younger brother was bitterly crying.

(??) The boy whom I gave sweets to the younger brother of bitterly crying.

This order has been indicated to me by some native speakers of English.I haven't been able to find literary examples for all those cases so I don't know if any such cases exist. A case in point might be Dickens': "He said Traddles was a character to the steady virtues of which he could lay no claim."

Finally, as expected, prepositional objects and prepositional adjuncts exhibit the highest degree of looseness in both languages.

1. Charley made a discovery which I discovered evidence for.	Charley a făcut o descoperire pentru care am descoperit dovesi.
2. Charley made a discovery for which I discovered evidence.	
3. Charley made a discovery evidence for which I discovered.	Charley a făcut o descoperire dovesi pentru care am descoperit eu.

Thus it seems that the decisive factor on piping conditions is the type of case marking. Notice that in Romanian, if the genitive or dative relation is prepositionally marked by means of (la + Acc) the conditions for relativizability are changed:

OCLPP hotărăşte înălţimea camerelor { blocurilor / la blocuri }

Blocurile
* a căror OCLPP-ul hotăreşte înălţimea camerelor
* a căror camerelor OCLPP hotărăşte înălţimea
înălţimea camerelor cărora o hotărăşte OCLPP
a căror înălţime a camerelor o hotărăşte OCLPP

mă deprimă.

But Blocurile la care OCLPP hotărăşte înălţimea camerelor mă deprimă.

We haven't said anything about the choice of the relative pronoun as a factor influencing conditions of Pied Piping. That this is so should be obvious e.g. while who and which can be preceded by prepositions or by their head nouns, that must always occupy front position.

* This man, thanks to the generosity of that I could visit Berkeley.

This man, thanks to the generosity of whom I could visit Berkeley.

Pied-Piping phenomena ought to be investigated in questions and topicalised sentences, which we haven't done.

Which professor did he marry the daughter of?

Cu fiica cărui profesor s-a căsătorit?

Theoretically speaking, cases discussed in this paragraph show, we think, an interesting conditioning of syntax and morphology. They convincingly show how morphological differences (set of pronouns, types of case marking) constrain syntactically similar processes (relative clause formation, interrogation etc.) thus changing the overall surface structure of a language.

From a contrastive point of view, as expected, the more analytical character of English, makes it syntactically more flexible than Romanian.

4. The principle of Pied Piping provides a natural way of formulating an important syntactic difference between English and Romanian. In Romanian no noun can be moved out of the environment $(\text{Prep}^\frown\text{NP})_{\text{NP}}$. An important number of English rules can move NPs out of prepositional environments. The main cases when this happens are the following:

wh- questions: which house did you leave it at?

Rel-clauses: The old house which I was telling you about is empty.

Wh-clause: what I'm convinced of is that the world's population will grow to an unforeseen extent.

Exclamation: what a mess he's got into!

Passives - She was sought after by all the leading impresarious of the day.

Tough movement clauses - He's impossible to work with.

Given what Ross has established one wishes to account for this phenomenon, by way of a notion of Pied Piping. But in fact such an explanation follows directly if it is recognized that Prepositional NPs should be properly taken as NPs.

As Postal says: "Looked at the other way, this behaviour of prepositions is one of the most striking arguments for an NP analysis of traditional Prep.NP"[10]. Thus in prepositional environments, Pied Piping is always obligatory in Romanian, while being optional in English.

A quick examination, of all the rules listed above shows that they have one thing in common: they move NPs to the left of the sentence.

In contexts when NPs are moved to the right prepositions go with them.

I fought with Harry for your sake.

I fought for your sake with Harry.

* I fought with for your sake Harry.

It is probable that a reexamination of the examples given in the preceding paragraph would indicate that the higher flexibility of English NPs with respect to some movement rules is due not only to analytical case marking but also to the NPs ability of moving out of their Prep NP environments.

Thus with relative and interrogative clauses speakers can optionally move either the NP or the Prep NP. "Here English provides a choice between two constructions one formal and the other colloquial. In formal style the preposition precedes the complement, whereas in colloquial style, the complement comes first and the preposition is left "trailing" at the end of the sentences".[11] The final preposition construction is less desirable when the preposition is remote from its complement or when it is syntactically closer bound to the complement than to the verb.

I talked to someone	I wrote a letter for someone
Who did you talk to	The one who I wrote a letter for.

---

[10] Postal, op.cit., pg.205.
[11] Quirk, op.cit. pg.869.

To whom did you talk.   The one for whom I wrote a letter.
(Learners should avoid "* To who did you talk")

A further rule can apply to relative clauses deleting non-subject relative pronouns. As there are no instances of the form: * The one for I wrote the letter, this shows that relative deletion is made possible (in some environments) by this condition on NP movement (i.e. that they can move out of Prep NP environments), while the fact that wh-NP which are subjects are not deleted might reflect a formal constraint on English sentences specifying that they must have a subject.

The discussion above might have given the impression that Pied Piping is entirely optional in English and that the choice of the variants is merely a matter of style. Unfortunately this is not the case. There are contexts where the optionality of Pied Piping is replaced by constraints of obligatory applicability or by constraints of obligatory non-applicability: the decisive factors are:

a) the preposition involved (its meaning and form).
b) the type of head noun (concrete vs. abstract)
c) the relative pronoun used.

a) There are prepositions which are never left behind. Jespersen[12] says "This is particularly true of those prepositions which are still felt as formed from other parts of speech, such as opposite, round, except, during, considering, concering).

- I left during that month.
- * What month did you leave during?
- During what month did you leave? (obligatory pied piping)
- He called her regarding her plans.
- * What plans did he call her regarding.

---

[12] Jesperson Otto - Essentials of English Grammar.

b) With certain (very) abstract NPs expressing time, place, manner the preposition is always moved with the NP.

Thus if the rel. pronoun which is used, the speaker is committed to moving the preposition in sentences such as (see :

That was the day on which he left.

That is the time at which he arrived.

If that is used the preposition cannot be moved, Pied Piping cannot be applied.

The book $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{that} \\ \text{* on that} \end{array} \right\}$ they decided on is written in Chinese.
(Pied Piping is not applicable).

We will not go into any further details, but we just wanted to suggest the factors which intersect with our constraint.

A hierarchy of similarity of structure in E. and R. with respect to the phenomena discussed in this paragraph would indicate the following.

English	Romanian
I. Obligatory Pied Piping	Obligatory Pied Piping
During which period did he come?	In timpul cărei perioade a venit?
II. Optional Pied Pipping	
a) with retained relative or with interrogative pronoun	
Who did you buy it for?	Pentru cine ai cumpărat-o?
The boy who he bought it for.	
b) with deleted relative	
The boy he bought the book for.	Băiatul pentru care a cumpărat cartea.

5. One final remark concerns the fact that, as it was pointed out in the preceding paragraph - not only wh-rules move

NPs out of Prep. NPs. but also such rules as Passive and Tough Movement.

- It is hard to write poems with this pen.
- This pen is hard to write poems with.
- *With this pen is hard to write poems.

- This proposal was agreed on.
- *On this proposal was agreed.

It is obvious that the preposition never accompanies the NP in such cases. Pied Piping is non-applicable in such context Why this is so should be clear: in both cases NPs are moved in subject position and there is a possibly universal constraint on sentence structure (if we take Fillmore's word for it) which prevents subjects from being preceded by prepositions.

NP movement out of Prep NP might be one of the factors which provides for wider scope of the Passive Transformation in English as compared to Romanian.

Such examples prove the interaction of formal contraints and rules within a grammar. It appears that the grammars of languages do not differ so much in the type of rules and constraints which they allow but rather in the scope of the given rules or constraints, and in their respective interaction, which assure the syntactic specificity of the two languages.

ADVERBIALIZATION AND ITS RELEVANCE TO THE CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF ROMANIAN AND ENGLISH

by Taina Duţescu and
Domnica Spîri[illegible]u

> "Adverbials are a rich and as yet relatively unexplored system, and therefore anything we say about them must be regarded as quite tentative"
> (Noam Chomsky, *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*, Chapter 2, Note 28)

0.1. The hypothesis we are going to advance has been generated by our dissatisfaction with the reduced explanatory power of all the grammatical models we are acquainted with in the field of the lexical and grammatical category that goes by the name of *adverb* or *adverbial*.

0.2. We have considered the problem in the light of a contrastive analysis of Romanian (R) and English (E), on account of the frequent mistakes of translation and identification we come across in class work (a few examples follow in 0.3). The necessity of a common denominator in the two language - possibly a feature which is shared by several other languages, against which we might coherently define the adverbial structures in the two languages under study - in order to explain errors of a certain type will become clear, we hope, from the following paragraphs. Naturally, such a common denominator may be regarded as a necessary step in any contrastive analysis; whether finding it is just a means in pursuing other ends or an end in itself is actually the problem of the priority of making a contrastive analysis over making general statements about language or vice versa, an issue that we shall not discuss here. However, it seems obvious to us that both areas should benefit from such an analysis and that the question of priority is a secondary one.

0.3 Here is a short list of interference cases that might be taken as a starting point for the discussion below: The E-R Adjective-Adverb overlapping is, in our opinion, an important source of errors with learners of both E and R. Among the commonest types of sentences likely to present language errors generated by this zone of contrast are the following:

A. English as target language

1. Error: Adverb instead of Adjective

R source sentence	Erroneous E sentence
(i) Miroase bine ceapa asta.	*This onion smells well.
(ii) Ai tăiat pîinea subţire.	*You've cut the bred thinly.
(iii) O să se răzgîndească, probabil.	*It is probably that she may change her mind.
(iv) (Ei) I s-a părut firesc să-l părăsească.	*She found it naturally to walk out on him.
(v) A aţipit, ca de obicei.	*He fell asleep, as usually.
(vi) Ciudat că n-a venit.	*Strangely that he hasn't come (*Strange that he hasn't come).

2. Error: Adjective instead of Adverb

Asculta atentă.	*She was listening attentive.

B. Romanian as target language

1. Error: Adjective instead of Adverb

English source sentence	Erroneous R sentence
(i) This onion smells good.	*Miroase bună ceapa asta.
(ii) It is probable that she will change her mind.	*E probabilă ca să se răzgîndească.
(iii) She found it natural to walk out on him.	*I s-a părut firească să-l părăsească.

2. Error: Adverb instead of Adjective

She entered the room merrily.	*A intrat (pe) pe uşă vesel.

0.4. Looking at what has been done so far, this is what we take to be the general picture:

The indiscriminate lumping together in traditional grammars of all words that seemed to have an adverbial nature was strongly objected to by structural grammarians, who consequently introduced definite formal criteria; their application disintegrated the non-homogeneous class, but neatly and consistently subdivided it into items belonging to a 'form-word' class and items representative of certain groups of 'function-words'; nevertheless, this was far from solving the problem of their origin and actual status.

Generative-transformational approaches of a Chomskian type, by focussing on the problem of Sentence constituency, had to account for the sentential status of the main types of adverbs - Manner, Place and Time. Rules were devised to introduce these items into sentence structure at a certain level. Adverbs, however, would not let themselves be crammed into one drawer; they, so to say, called for further criteria of subcategorization, all the more so as one of the main sentence constituents - the verb in the Predicate Phrase - clearly got subcategorized according to the adverbial constituent. Chomky's provision of two Phrase Structure rules introducing the adverbial constituent(s) first at the level of the Predicate Phrase

Predicate Phrase ——→ Aux + VP (+ Place)(+ Time)

and then at the level of the VP proper, more precisely as an ordered choice after selection of first nominal adjunct by the main verb

VP ——→ V(+NP)(+PP)(+PP)(+ Manner)

enriched adverb analysis with at least two valuable elements:

(a) Time and Place adverbials share a number of features of co-occurrence, greater than the number of features they share with the adverbial of Manner, whose status is somewhat different.

(b) Adverbials appear at two levels of Sentence constituency, the higher level of the first rank Sentence constituents and the lower one, that of the VP constituents. Consequently adverbs were subdivided into outside and inside VP constituents.[1] However, this was not satisfactory either.

The idea od setting up a hierarchy of adverbials gradually took shape, appearing more and more emphatically as an indispensable necessity for a grammar. Chomsky's approach to the problem has been critically considered, the rules suggested in Aspects of the Teory of Syntax have undergone a number of alterations, among which most important would be the reconsideration of the principle of verb subcategorization and the discovery that Manner adverbials may also function as outside VP constituents.[2] But, despite the considerable progress made in the field, practically all models of Competence have failed to answer the crucial problem of adverbials, namely the problem of adverb occurrences at various levels, inside and outside the sentence. Unlike the consistent approach of nominals and verbals for instance, the treatment of adverbials within the framework of Competence models does not go beyond rough and ready solutions. The answer to the problem of adverbials probably has to be sought elsewhere

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[1] See N.Chomsky, Aspects of the Theory of Syntax, Ch.2, 2.3.4)

It seems to us that it is only post-Chomskian models introducing the Performance dimension that might help us out of the 'adverbial whirlpool'.

1.0. In order to explain the problems announced in 0.3. we advance the following working hypothesis:

It may be proved that all adverbials are surface structure constituents, derived through transfers of various types from constituents on higher levels in the hierarchy of intermediate stages between Deeper Structure and Surface Structure. These source levels are verbal cores, in general be-nuclei (be + $\left\{\begin{matrix} \text{AdjP} \\ \text{NP} \end{matrix}\right\}$). The transfers, which we shall call adverbializations, are similar to nominalization, but essentially differ from it in that nominalization operates within the scope of the Proposition (the Fillmorian term), while adverbializations necessarily entail modality.

1.1. Our general framework starts from Fillmore's description of the Sentence:

Sentence ——————→ Modality + Proposition

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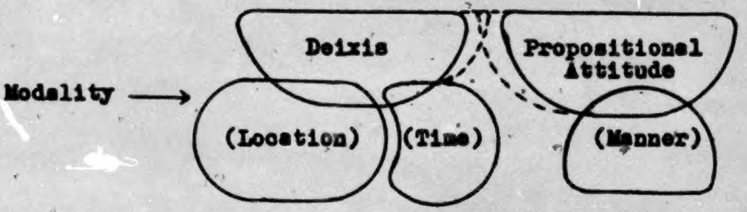
[2] See G.Lakoff and J.Ross, Criterion for Verb Phrase Constituency (NSF 17, May 1966).

where Proposition rewrites as a verb and a number of nominal entities representing various case roles.

For our purpose it is convenient to consider Modality as a number of subcomponents,of which some are compulsory and others are optional.We may actually regard it as a system of components, each of which has an optional and a compulsory subcomponent with compulsory or optional realizations in the Surface Structure;such components as *Deixis* and *Propositional Attitude* (maybe the only ones) are central and should group together as the very core of modality, while such components as *Location*, *Time*, *Manner* are peripheral. Location and Time intersect Deixis, Manner intersects Propositional Attitude. Deixis and Propositional Attitude are compulsory for every Sentence, and probably intersect each other (in such areas as the category of person).



[By *deixis* we mean the relation: proposition - space and time;space and time are unique for every Sentence. As regards time for instance, deixis has two possible realizations in the Surface Structure which can coexist in the following order:
adverbial of time (optional); tense (compulsory).

e.g. I pitied him then (then, past)

Propositional attitude or *attitude* is the involvement of the speaker with the proposition. Propositional attitude consists in a scale of choices which exclude one another and one of which is compulsory for every Sentence; the choices rank from pure certainty (nude statement)

e.g. I love you.

through one of the scales of modality (obligation, intention etc.)

e.g. I ought to love you.

I shall always love you.

to negation for instance

e.g. I never loved you.

or to pure interrogation;

e.g. Did I ever love you?

The negative and interrogative transformations may find a place among the transfers that transport points on these scales to surface structures. The choice of one of the scales of modality for instance can have two realizations in the Surface Structure, one of which is compulsory in the absence of another choice within the scale of attitude: adverbial of propositional attitude or modal verb:

e.g. They are probably on the Moon by now. (probably)

They must be on the Moon by now. (must).]

The justification for the distinctions made above is that this is one way (and the only one we are aware of) to explain the difference in behaviour of the adverbials of time and place on the one hand and the adverbials of manner on the other hand. Also, the fact that some manner adverbials (actually what has traditionally been called manner adverbials) are considered to belong to the core of modality and some are not (intersection of manner and propositional attitude) may provide a solution for those cases in which we hesitate whether to take to NP as denoting an actant or as an adverbial. Specifically, for every Sentence, some of the cases in

Fillmore's model will be marked for the components of Modality

e.g. Locative $\left[\pm \text{Deixis}\right]$, Time $\left[\pm \text{Deixis}\right]$,

Instrument $\left[\pm \text{Manner}\right]$,

where the feature +X (X being one of the components of Modality) shows that the item is subject to X Adverbialisation (it is X adverbialisable). For instance, the fact that Instrumental is marked as ± Manner indicates the fact that in some cases the NP should be regarded as an actant and in other cases as the realisation of a circumstance and may undergo Adverbialisation.

e.g. (i) *They unloaded the truck with a crane.*

Instr. $\left[- \text{Manner}\right]$

(ii) *They unloaded the truck with care.*

Instr. $\left[+ \text{Manner}\right]$

In the case of (ii) Manner Adverbialization can apply and yields

(ii_a) *They unloaded the truck carefully.*

1.2. Adverbialisation operates on such items in the Deeper Structure as: time, location, degree of probability, etc., and yields such items in the Surface Structure as: *a week ago*, *yesterday*, *there*, *in Jamaica*, *probably*, etc. (in Romanian: *acum o săptămînă*, *ieri*, *acolo*, *în Jamaica*, *probabil*, etc.). The items in the Deeper Structure belong to the Modality component as defined above and they are applied to certain propositions which under adverbialisation may undergo certain changes. More precisely, it is an accepted fact that such items as *probably* (in Romanian *probabil*) have implicit predication, therefore it is only natural to look for their source in a predicative nucleus; in this case we contend that given the set of all propositions, there is a proper subset - let us call its elements adverbializable propositions (P_A) - to which adverbialization applies modality, resulting in specific surface structures known as adverbials. In order to distinguish the subset of adverbial propositions from the set of all propositions, we have used the notation P_A for an object in the larger set we use the notation P. When the difference between Sentence and Proposition is not relevant, S_A (adverbializable Sentence) is used instead of P_A.As a rule,we shall use A as an index for adverbializable items.

1.3. Taking into account precisely the difference in behavior entailed by the application of Adverbialization to various components of Modality, in what follows we shall restrict ourselves, for the sake of demonstration,to manner adverbials only, hoping to be able to give a similarly unitary solution for the other types of adverbials some other time.

2.0. The process of adverbialization therefore consists in a complex of operations through which sentences of a certain syntactic and semantic structure (a subset of the sentences whose predication is realized by be-nuclei: be + $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{Adj P} \\ \text{NP} \end{Bmatrix}$), that we have called adverbializable sentences (S_A, where S is the Chomskian symbol), are converted into adverbials in Surface Structure. The adverbial constituents thus obtained occur at various levels of syntactic structure that are dictated by the relationship between S_A and the sentence it combines with by means of coordination or superordination. Adverbialization applies under certain conditions imposed on the one hand, as already said, by the Modality component and on the other hand by the configuration of the sentence strings involved in the process. A series of 'stages' obtain, resulting in sets of adverbial types which, though not identical in English and Romanian, share in common a number of intermediary operations and may have equivalent Surface Structure realisations. We are going to examine three of these 'stages', which seem to be relevant for Romanian and English; we have called them:

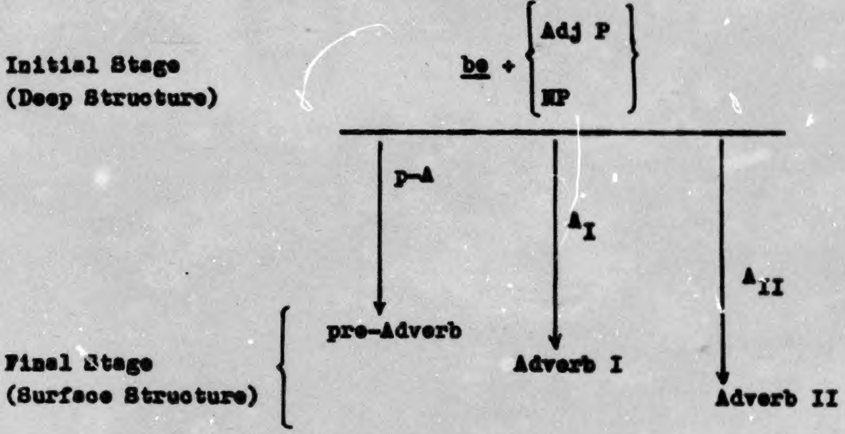
1. Pre-Adverbialization (p-A)
2. Adverbialization I (A_I)
2. Adverbialization II (A_{II})

In all three cases, our process starts from the same source: a sentence whose predicate is a be-nucleus and which is attachable to another sentence at various syntactic levels. It is these syntactic levels, which pertain to the Deep Structure, together with the type of formal realisation in the Surface Structure, that determine a differentiation of the process (complex of operations) into the three main sub-types of processes (or stages, ranking from a relatively small number of transformation operations and a relatively low level of syntactic structure to a richer variety of transformation operations and a higher level of syntactic structure.

We have conventionally used the term stage, for want of a better term, although practically we cannot speak of a succession of such stages, since in most cases the process stops at one stage only, which may be the initial one. The term however imposed itself to a certain extent because of the necessity of accounting, in terms of a common scale for Romanian and English, both for similarities and for dissimilarities - some of which consist in one operation only.

In conclusion, at a very general and abstract level, we take Adverbialization to be a process that lies at the basis of adverbials in the Surface Structure of both Romanian and English and which in both languages is manifest in three possible ways.

The following diagram may serve as a rough representation:


Initial Stage
(Deep Structure)
be + Adj P
NP
p-A
A_I
A_II
pre-Adverb
Adverb I
Adverb II
Final Stage
(Surface Structure)

The blocking of one of these stages in Romanian or English leading to the application of rules which trigger off another stage, will probably account for dissimilarities otherwise unexplainable, such as:

		Romanian	English
Surface Structure realisation		Adj P / Adv P	Adv P
e.g.	(i)	Copiii ascultau atenti.	*The kids were listening attentive.
	(ii)	Copiii ascultau atent.	The kids were listening attentively.
Surface Structure realisation		Adv P	Adj P
e.g.	(iii)	Miroase bine prăjitura asta.	This cake smells good. (*This case smells well)

Instances (i) and (ii) in Romanian are not synonymous, in spite of their closely similar meaning. Reference to their Deep Structure and the different stage of Adverbialization applying in each case will be made in the following paragraphs.

2.1. Pre-Adverbialization, the most primitive instance of Adverbialization, converts S_A into what we might call, by virtue of their mixed status, half-adverbs or pre-adverbs (pre-Adv.); they are Adjectival Phrases or Noun Phrases of S_A retained as such in the Surface Structure and functioning concomitantly as predicators of the nominals distributed as Subjects or Objects in the basic sentence (S) on the one hand and as modifiers of the Verb Phrase of S on the other hand. In the following examples:

Romanian	English
(i) Luna a răsărit rosie.	The moon rose red.
(ii) Dylan s-a născut poet.	Dylan was born a poet.
(iii) Urmărea palidă operațiunile de salvare.	(*She was watching the rescue operations pale).
(iv) Taie te rog pîinea subțire.	Please cut the bread thin.
(v) Pe cine punem presedinte?	Who do we appoint chairman?

the underlined words (Adj P-s or NP-s in Deep Structure) are pre-adverbs. The adjectival or nominal constituents have undergone a partial process of adverbialization; they still preserve their concord markers (for number and gender, wherever this is the case in either Romanian or English), pointing to their predicative reference to the NP subject, but at the same time they are inserted into the VP of S which they modify in one way or another. In all these strings full adverbialization of the Adj P or NP is blocked.

We shall further on account for the way in which these pre-adverbs are obtained.

2.2. Sentences (i) - (v) result from:

a) conjoining by copulative coordination of strings with the following Deep Structure configuration:

$$S_1 \longrightarrow NP_1 + VP_1 \qquad \text{where } VP_1 \longrightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} V_i \\ V_t + NP_{Object} \end{Bmatrix}$$

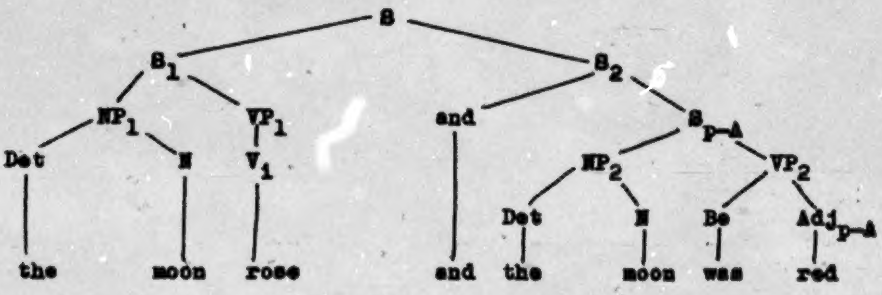
$$S_2 \longrightarrow NP_2 + VP_2 \qquad \text{where } VP_2 \longrightarrow \underline{be} + \begin{Bmatrix} AdjP_{p-A} \\ NP_{p-A} \end{Bmatrix}$$

and S_2 is an S_{p-A}

Condition: $NP_1 = NP_2$

(S_1 stands for S in 2.1, S_2 stands for S_A in 2.1).

Thus S(i) in 2.1 has the following structure at this step:



with the Romanian counterpart:

Luna a răsărit si luna era rosie.

Re-grouping and identical conjunct collapsing yield:

E The moon rose and was red.
R Luna a răsărit si era rosie.

b) deletion of conjunction and of the copula (be) lead to S(i):

E The moon rose red.
R Luna a răsărit rosie.

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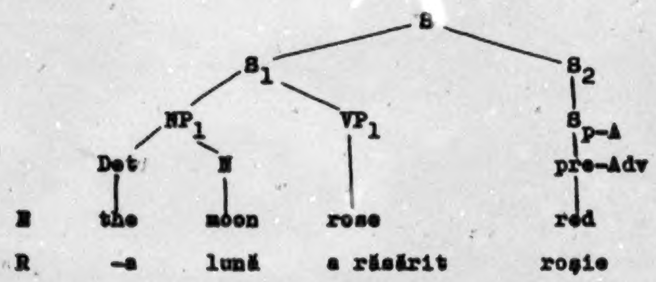
This double deletion, though apparently optional, seems to be imposed by the semantic complex formed by the sequence V non-stative – V stative, in which case both the conjunction and the V stative (*be*) are redundant.

The syntactic relation resulting from these transformations is placed midway between coordination and subordination. The intuitive notion of 'double predication' we come across in traditional grammars does not appear very far-fetched in this context; at the same time, between Deep Structure and Surface Structure, S_{p-A} somehow changes its position against S_1, acquiring a status of half-subordination. Paradoxically, what seems to be an embedded element (in our case – the Adj *red*) is actually the focus of the resulting S (S (i)), while S_1, the apparent matrix, is the half-subordinated clause of time. Paraphrase:

E When the moon rose, it was red.
R. Cînd a răsărit, luna era roşie.

2.3. The surface structure that results from the application of a) and b) therefore looks as follows:



This clearly points to the status of the pre-Adv, its position versus S_1. The fact that the pre-Adv retains its reference to NP_1 is, as we have said before, reflected in the preservation of concord markers. The phenomenon is more obvious in Romanian:

		Romanian	English
(ii)	a	Dylan s-a născut poet.	Dylan was born a poet.
	b	Sapho s-a născut poetă.	Sapho was born a poetess.
	c	Ei s-au născut poeţi.	They were born poets.
	d	Ele s-au născut poete.	*They were born poetesses.
(iii)	a	(El) Urmărea palid operaţiunile de salvare.	no equivalent at this stage
	b	(Ea) Urmărea palidă ...	
	c	(Ei) Urmăreau palizi ...	
	d	(Ele) Urmăreau palide ...	

2.4. In the previous paragraph we explained the process for those S_1 in which the predicative nuclei are based upon intransitive verbs. We shall briefly analyse now S (iii), (iv) and (v), where the pre-Adv modifying the VP in S_1 predicates either the NP - subject, or the NP - object:

e.g. (iii) and (iv) in 2.1.

Re-grouping does not apply effectively here. In (iii) for instance:

*/Ea şi ea/ /urmărea şi era/ /operaţiunile şi palidă/

Hence it is only deletion of and and be that should apply here, after collapsing of the identical NP-s functioning as object in S_1 (NP_{Obj}) and Subject in S_{p-A} (NP_{Subj}):

(El) a tăiat pîinea (NP_{Obj}) şi pîinea (NP_{Subj}) era subţire

$\longrightarrow$ (El) a tăiat pîinea subţire.

2.5. Verbs sub-categorize differently in the two languages as to whether they can take p-A adjuncts. A general fact is the high frequency of such constructions in Romanian as different from English. Almost any V_1 for instance may admit of a p-A insertion by means of the operations specified above:

e.g.	Romanian	English
(El)	A ieşit furios./	
(Ea)	A ieşit furioasă	no English
(El)	Fugea speriat./	equivalent
(Ea)	Fugea speriată.	

Also, a great number of set-phrases frequently used in Romanian present a similar type of pre-Adv – a noun that does not observe concord rules; these are constructions of the type: sănătos tun, beat criţă, a bate măr.

e.g. Sînt sănătos tun. / * Sîntem sănătoşi tunuri.

In English the V_1 list includes verbs such as bang, burst, out, fling, (in bang the door shut for instance), traditionally considered as linking verbs, but which are, in fact, main verbs fellowed by S_{p-A} reduceable to p-Adv in Surface Structure.

2.6. Besides the verb sub-categorisation as regards p-A, an equally important phenomenon is the Adjective and Noun sub-categorisation according to p-A (and A_I as we shall see futher on). Thus Adjectives of a stative type, descriptive of 'objective' properties (naming colors, materials and so on) as well as indentifying nouns cannot further undergo A_I in either of the two languages. They can by way of exception accept A_{II} if they are part of a seem predicative nucleus:

e.g. Rîdea nebuneşte.

which is derived from:

El rîdea /Rîsul părea (ca) de nebun.

3.0. *Adverbialization I* (A_I) lies at the basis of the formation of adverbials proper, that is of items marked by special morphemes. Here is a set of surface strings obtained by A_I:

Romanian	English
(i) Luna a răsărit *frumos*.	The moon rose *beautifully*.
(ii) A murit a) *ca un erou/ viteaz*.	He died a) *like a herro*.
b) *eroic/ vitejeşte*.	b) *heroically*.
(iii) (Ea) Tăia hîrtia	She was cutting the paper
a) *cu atenţie*.	a) *with care*.
b) *atent*.	b) *carefully*.

By way of comparison with the results of pre-Adverbialization a striking similarity is revealed: the items under discussion bear many features in common with the p-A ones - they are either NP-s, with the difference that Prepositions are also present in their structure (NP ⟶ Prep + N) or lexemes closely similar with the Adj (R: *eroic*, *atent*; E: *beautifully*, *carefully*). This leads us to the conclusion that the derivation of these strings must be similar to the one leading to p-A strings.

3.1. Indeed S (i) - (iii) result from roughly the same operations:

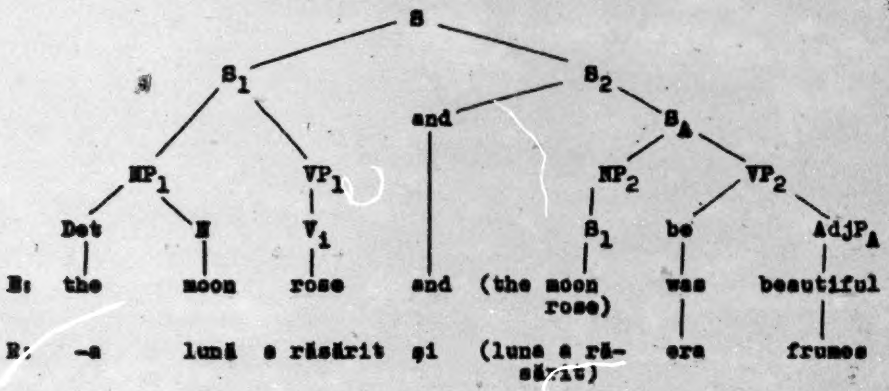
a) *conjoining by copulative coordination* of strings with the Deep Structure:

$$S_1 \longrightarrow NP_1 + VP_1 \qquad \text{where } VP_1 \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{matrix} V_i \\ V_t + NP \end{matrix} \right\}$$

$$S_2 \longrightarrow NP_2 + VP_2 \qquad \text{where } VP_2 \longrightarrow \underline{be} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Adj P} \\ \text{(Prep)N} \end{array} \right\}$$

Condition: $NP_2 = S_1$

In other words the be-nucleus now predicates a NP that is the same as the S engaged in coordination with S_A:


S
S_1
S_2
and
S_A
NP_1
VP_1
NP_2
VP_2
Det
N
V_i
S_1
be
$AdjP_A$
E: the moon rose and (the moon rose) was beautiful
R: -a lună a răsărit şi (luna a răsărit) era frumos

b) deletion of and, of NP_2 (realised as S_1) and of the copula (be), resulting in the seemingly pre-adverbial string (ungrammatical in E as an equivalent of the R string):

E: * The moon rose beautiful

R: Luna a răsărit frumos.

In spite of the apparent similarity, the strings above differ from the ones obtaining by means of p-A in that they retain an Adj out of a predicative core that refers to the whole of S_1 and not to NP_1 alone. The adjective therefore modifies the fact expressed by S_1: the rising of the moon/ răsăritul lunii; that is why gender markers are lost in the language where they exist, i.e. Romanian. Compare:

Luna a răsărit frumoasă.

Luna a răsărit frumos.

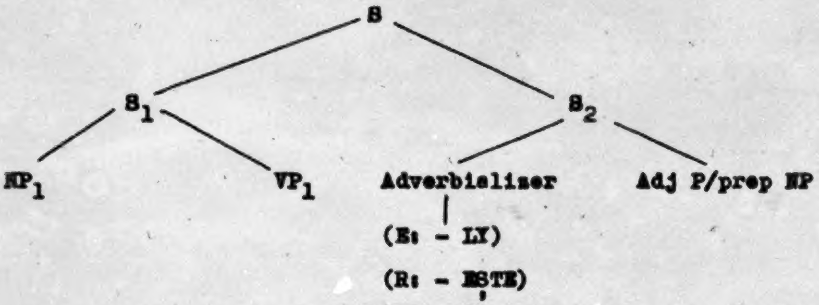
The adjective seems to get neutralised for all adjectival categories. Compare:

Stelele au răsărit frumoase. (Adj marked by gender and number)

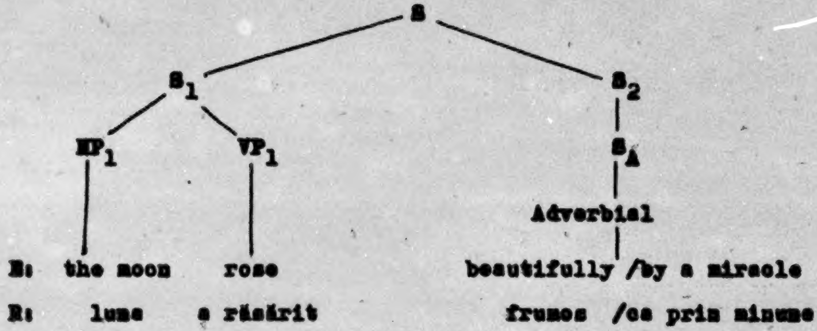
Stelele au răsărit frumos.

c) insertion of Adverbialiser (morpheme marker of Adverbialization) in the slot freed by deletion, (as shown in (b)). The Adverialiser will be symbolised by - LY for English and - EȘTE for Romanian; its allomorphs for English are: - ly, ∅ and several others, more restricted in use (e.g. - wise); in Romanian the allomorphs are: - ește, - mente, ∅ and several others. The ∅ allomorph attached after neutralization of the Adjective is the most frequent realisation of the Adverbialiser in Romanian. It also applies in case the be-nucleus contains a prepositional NP.

Adverbialization I therefore is a more complex process, resulting in the following structure:



This finally yields surface structures containing adverbial items proper (after flip-flop applies as well):



3.2. In our analysis so far we have limited our observations to sentences (i) (3.0, 3.1). Sentences (ii) and (iii) (3.0) add interesting facts to the analysis. If we compare (ii) (*A murit ca un erou* with all its variants, alongside its English counterpart; *He died like a hero*) with sentence (ii) in 2.1. (*Dylan s-a născut poet*, *Dylan was born a poet* respectively) we are struck by the absence of variants in the latter case. We cannot possibly think of the string R: *Dylan s-a născut poetic*.

E. *Dylan was born poetically*.

as deriving from the same deep structure as for (ii) in 2.1. The difference lies in the fact that the *be*-nucleus where a NP (non-prepositional NP) functions as Predicative can only be subject to pre-Adverbialization, further Adverbialization processes being blocked. In (ii) (3.0) the underlying *be*-nucleus contains a prepositional NP of the type *like/ca* + NP, therefore a *seem*-nucleus actually.

E: *He died*. *He was like a hero* / *seemed a hero*.

R: *A murit*. *Era ca un erou* / *părea erou*.

This accounts for the derivation of *He was born poetically* as well. In all these cases A_I applies, which yields:

Adverbialiser - LY allomorph ∅ + (like) NP → like a poet
or in Surface Structure a poet
allomorph - ly, applying only after the
non-prepositional NP is adjectivised
- ly + Adj (NP + Adj affix) →
→ poet-ical-ly

Adverbialiser - EŞTE allomorph ∅ + ca NP → ca un poet
(in R the prep.is obligatory in SS)
allomorph - este + ca un viteaz
→ vitejeste

4.0. Adverbialisation II applies at a totally different level of structure. While in the case of A_I the two sentences had the same rank, with A_{II} the adverbialisable $S(S_A)$ is a superordinate S that takes a sentential complement, realised in Surface Structure as a subject clause. The VP in S_A contains a verb 'of propositional attitude', i.e. expressing the speaker's mental position as to the contents of the complement clause, along a scale that is part of the modality component. This superordinate S_A is obligatorily present in the Deep structure of any sentence, but its adverbialisation is optional in the two languages. In:

Romanian	English
(i) E firesc că s-a măritat.	It is natural that she has married.
(ii) E sigur că s-a măritat.	It is certain that she has married.
(iii) E probabil că s-a măritat.	It is probable that she has married.
(iv) E posibil să se fi măritat.	It is possible that she might have married.

(v) E incredibil să se fi măritat.	It is incredible that she should have married.
(vi) E cu neputinţă să se fi măritat.	It is impossible that she should have married.

the scale of propositional attitude stretches from a point marked + certainty up to one marked - certainty, with consequences upon the mood taken by the verb in the subordinate clause as well (± Indicative). The predicative nucleus in each sentence is made up of be and an adjectival or nominal phrase. The speaker's interpretation of his own statement in these terms is, as we have already said, ever present in the frame of performance. More often than not this interpretation is conveyed by other linguistic or, even oftener, extra-linguistic means - the speaker's gestures, the tone of his voice. On a linguistic level, in syntactic structure, those superordinate sentences which satisfy the condition of all adverbialisable structures, may be transformed into adverbs that are integrated into the surface string of the sentential complement, according to certain rules. This once again proves the fact that adverbials are introduced by the modality component: it is the 'modus' of the whole sentence that is expressed this time, not the one of the inner proposition.

Here is what sentences (i) - (vi) will look like after A_{II} has applied:

(i') Fireşte, s-a măritat.	Naturally, she has married.
(ii') Sigur, s-a măritat.	Certainly, she has married. She has certainly married. She has married, certainly.
(iii') Probabil s-a măritat.	She has probably married.

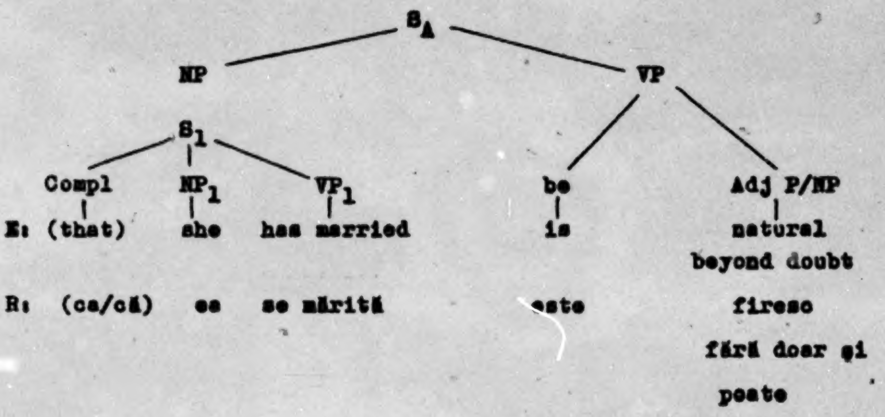
(iv') Posibil să se fi măritat. She might possibly have married.

(v') Incredibil să se fi măritat.
(vi') Cu neputinţă să se fi măritat. } no equivalent

Of course, there are variants of S-s (i') and (ii') - (iv') similar to the variants of (ii'); all three possibilities were given for (ii') as an example.

In what follows, we shall work on S(i); the adverbials in (ii)-(iv) obtain in a similar though not necessarily identical way, slight differences being imposed for semantic reasons probably.

The deep structure of the two sentences before A_{II} applies is the following:



S_A
NP
VP
S_1
Compl
NP_1
VP_1
be
Adj P/NP
E: (that)
she
has married
is
natural
beyond doubt
R: (ca/că)
ea
se mărită
este
firesc
fără doar şi poate

The VP (be + Adj P/ NP) in the S_A is chosen by the modality component. The mood in the S complement is also dictated by this choice. In English the structure is optionally subject to extraposition and it-insertion. In Romanian the complementizer ca introduces a sentence marked - Indicative (Subjunctive): ca ea să se fi măritat which is in most cases extraposed. The insertion of a dummy surface subject (it in English) is absent as a constraint from the syntax of Romanian.

4.1. The strings where A_{II} applies are therefore of the type:

R: Că s-a măritat e firesc.

E: That she has married is natural.

and A_{II} consists of the following transformations, which apply slightly differently in Romanian and English:

a) extraposition, resulting in:

R: E firesc că s-a măritat.

E: It is natural that she has married.

b) deletion of fi in Romanian, of it and be in English; we obtain the ungrammatical intermediary strings:

R: * Firesc că s-a măritat.

E: * Natural that she has married.

c) placement of Adverbializer, which results in:

R: Fireste că s-a măritat.

E: * Naturally that she has married.

We notice that Romanian, as different from English, has a class of adverbs (e.g. fireste) that preserve the status of a main clause after reduction of the predicate; they can govern by themselves an embedded clause introduced by the complementiser ca/că (that), as different from English in which the equivalent string is ungrammatical; the English string will have to undergo further transformations in order to yield a well-formed sentence. This is particularly interesting from the point of view of a Contrastive Analysis, since it convincingly accounts for errors (iii) and (vi) in 0.3, A.1 and (ii) in 0.3, B.1.

d) deletion of complementiser (că/ca, that) resulting in the strings:

R: Fireste, s-a măritat.

E: Naturally, she has married.

The adverbial items thus obtained acquire a high degree of independence (comparable to that of the main clause they were derived from), marked by a pause in speech and comma in writing. Moreover, these adverbs, traditionally known as sentence modifiers, have now gained a greater freedom of occurrence in Surface Structure. And if in Romanian this may pass unnoticed, for English it is a unique phenomenon (no other'part of speech'enjoys a choice of three possible positions in the English sentence).

The pause in speech is important in that it differentiates in some cases between results of A_I and A_{II}. Taking S(ii') in English for instance, there is a difference between

She married, naturally.

and

She married naturally.

a difference that is accounted for by the different initial adverbializable strings and the different type of adverbialization that applies. The initial strings are respectively

That she has married is natural. (A_{II})

She married in a natural way. (A_I)

5. The analysis that we have made, in spite of important limitations (the adverbs of Place and Time are left out, examples that presented complicated problems were not analysed etc., apart from minor or important inadvertences we are not aware of), leads to a conclusion regarding the nature and status of Adverbials - an

idea that was mentioned in passing or firmly stated in other studies as well: Adverbials are derived *syntactically* (in most cases, and we hope to show it in all cases) from propositional cores, under the influence of the Modality component of the language.

A semantic derivation should also be worked out to account for Adverbs with an independent lexeme, which could be nevertheless regarded as reductions of propositions or phrases (*e.g.* *now* = which happens/is at this time; *soon* = which is/happens in the near future and so on).

The *domain* of the transformation yielding Adverbials is a subset of propositions which have been defined syntactically as being based on *be*-nuclei with Adj-s or NP-s; the NP often appears as Prep NP.

The *marker* of Adverbialization is the Adverbializer, whose allomorph in the case of a NP is always ∅; sometimes NP-s are first adjectivised and only afterwards adverbialized; *e.g.*

R:	*cu atenţie*	*atent(ă)*	*atent*
E:	*with care*	*careful*	*carefully*

Adjectives and NP-s can be subsequently subcategorised according to whether they may undergo Adverbialization.

All the above mentioned facts are relevant for a 'common' grammar of Romanian and English, from the point of view of a Contrastive Analysis. The blocking of Adverbialization - a process made up of *stages* characterised by various degrees of complexity - in one of the two languages in contrast should clear up a great number of interference cases and accounts for otherwise obscure phenomena in the Adjective - Adverb zone which constitute a source of errors.

Finally, emphasis should be laid on the highly provisional character of the above solution and on the almost endless list of problems open to discussion once we have adopted this or a similar standpoint.Reliable conclusions will certainly be reached after a thorough analysis of each syntactic and semantic type of Adverbial; such an anlysis might even overthrow the above hypothesis and lead to an unexpected and even contrary result (a thing that we would much dislike). In one way or other, by means of this methodology or an alternative one, we nevertheless hope that eventually all items traditionally labelled as adverbs or adverbials, function words included, will be restored to the same class.